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Douglas Deur

Portland State University, deur@pdx.edu

Thomas Thornton

University of Oxford

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ASSESSING POSSIBLE CRUISE SHIP IMPACTS ON HUNA TLINGIT ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES IN GLACIER BAY

FINAL REPORT

Douglas Deur, Ph.D.

Department of Anthropology
Portland State University

Thomas F. Thornton, Ph.D.

Environmental Change Institute
School of Geography and the Environment
University of Oxford
& Portland State University (Affiliate)

With Significant Contributions by

Jamie Hebert, M.A. and Rachel Lahoff, M.A.

Department of Anthropology, Portland State University

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ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT - PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O. Box 751 / 1721 SW Broadway, Portland, OR 97207



Figure 1: Huna Tlingit participants in the annual NPS-sponsored community boat trip, at the base of Margerie Glacier, with Mount Fairweather visible above. Douglas Deur photo.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	3
Background and Objectives	5
Methods	11
<u>Enduring Connections: Glacier Bay Places and Huna Tlingit Cultural Values</u>	15
Glacier Bay as an Enduring Homeland of the Huna Tlingit	15
Traditional Cultural Properties	24
The Cultural Role of Natural Resources and Resource Harvests	27
The Interdependence of the Huna and the Natural Resources of Glacier Bay	35
Respect and Disrespect, Hosts and Guests	39
Glacier Bay as Refuge, Anchor, and Safe Haven	47
Enduring Ceremonial Traditions in Glacier Bay Proper	49
<u>Huna Perspectives on Cruise Ship Effects and their Remediation</u>	58
Tangible and Intangible Cruise Ship Impacts	62
Respect and other Key Cultural Values in Understanding Tlingit Perspectives on Cruise Ship Effects	64
Specific Reported Cruise Ship Effects	71
Tangible Impacts	71
Exhaust Discharges	71
Wastewater and Other Liquid Discharges	75
Trash	77
Noise Pollution	79
Wakes	81
Fish and Wildlife Disturbances	82
Crowding, Regulation, and Impacts on Tlingit Boaters	85

Disease Vectors	86
Intangible Impacts	87
Disrespect, in its Many Forms	88
Disrupting Huna Connections to the Bay	92
Commercialization and the Tourist Gaze	96
Inappropriate Interpretation	97
Perspectives on the Economic Effects of Cruise Ships	101
Minimizing and Mitigating Adverse Effects of Cruise Ships	
On Glacier Bay's "Integrity"	105
Minimizing and Mitigating Tangible Effects	106
Monitoring and Reducing Air, Water and Noise Pollution	106
Reducing Speeds and Wakes	108
Temporary Vessel Restrictions to Protect Cultural	
Activities and Resources	109
Minimizing and Mitigating Intangible Impacts	111
Fostering Huna Use and Youth Education in Glacier Bay	111
Developing Cruise Ship Interpretative Programs	115
Prospects for Future Public Interpretation	119
Interpretive and Educational Opportunities for Huna Youth	124
Smaller Boats	127
Sharing Knowledge and Building Rapport with NPS Staff	129
<u>Conclusions and Recommendations</u>	133
<u>Sources</u>	142
Interviewees	142
Interviewee Codes	143
Other Tribal Consultants and Advisors	144
Bibliography	146
<u>Appendices</u>	151
Appendix 1: Sample of Questions Posed in Project Interviews	152
Appendix 2: Key Federal Laws and EOs Referenced in the Text	154
Appendix 3: Culturally Significant Natural Resources Harvested in Glacier Bay	157
<u>Notes</u>	168

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a thematic summary of an ethnographic study addressing the effects of cruise ships within Glacier Bay proper on the people known as the Huna Tlingit. Occupying the heart of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Glacier Bay proper is considered to be the core homeland of Huna Tlingit. The Huna occupied the Bay prior to its most recent glaciation and, though they now live nearby in Hoonah and other communities, they have continued to use, occupy, and value the lands and waters within the Bay since the glaciers began to retreat over two centuries ago. Simultaneously, since the designation of Glacier Bay as a unit of the National Park Service, Glacier Bay proper has become the focal point of a thriving tourist industry, with most park visitors arriving in the Bay by cruise ship. In past consultation, Huna representatives have expressed to NPS staff that cruise ships have various adverse effects on lands, resources, and values that are of concern to Huna people.

Also, in recent years, the NPS has identified locations within Glacier Bay proper that appear to be eligible for designation as “Traditional Cultural Properties” (TCPs), a type of property that is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places by virtue of its cultural and historical importance to the Huna Tlingit. In light of the presence of these TCPs, as well as a variety of other federal mandates, the NPS must assess the potential adverse effects of park operations on lands and resources of importance to Huna Tlingit—including park specific vessel quotas and operating requirements that set limits on the number and operation of cruise ships. Recognizing this, the NPS initiated the current study to systematically identify the scope and nature of the impacts of cruise ship traffic on lands and resources of importance to Huna people, to illuminate the cultural context of those impacts, and to recommend potential avenues for minimizing or mitigating any adverse effects.

No fewer than 50 Huna Tlingit served as formal interviewees for this study, and many others contributed informally to the project’s success. Through interviews with these people, as well as repeat visits to Glacier Bay proper with Huna Tlingit interviewees, the researchers systematically documented the nature and extent of cruise ship effects, as described and understood by Huna people. Interviewees identified a number of “tangible” adverse effects, some historical and some ongoing: air and water pollution, trash dispersal, noise pollution, wakes, fish and wildlife disturbances, various impacts on Tlingit boaters, and increased region-wide exposure to shipborne diseases. Interviewees also identified “intangible” adverse effects: displays of “disrespect” by people on ships, the disruption of Huna connections to Glacier Bay, inappropriate public interpretation, and the effects of outside observers on the character of traditional activities. While particular attention is directed here to the effects of cruise ships on TCPs, most of the effects are understood to have broader effects, throughout large portions of Glacier Bay proper and beyond. Positive effects were also noted, especially economic advantages. Seeking to illuminate some of the challenges and potentials of cruise ship tourism from a Huna perspective, interviews also contrasted cruise ship tourism in Glacier Bay with the Icy Strait Point facility, a cruise ship port with tourist facilities that is run by Huna Totem Corporation. Certain key cultural

issues required to conceptualize these effects are also addressed, such as Huna protocols for “respecting” Glacier Bay, traditional Huna concepts of Glacier Bay as uniquely “clean” and spiritually potent, as well as Huna discomfort with the loss of their traditional role as “host” to visitors in their homeland. These elements represent key context for discussions of Huna perceptions of cruise ships, we suggest, and Huna discussions of specific impacts are often only understandable with reference to them.

Interviewees recommend a variety of opportunities for minimizing or mitigating these adverse effects of cruise ships in the future management of TCPs and other park lands, waters, and resources. The document advances both specific recommendations and general principles that may be of value in future consultation and communication between Huna and the NPS on matters relating to the future of Glacier Bay.

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

This document represents a summary of a four-year research effort by two professional anthropologists, Drs. Douglas Deur and Thomas F. Thornton, undertaken to document Huna Tlingit perspectives on the effects of cruise ships on their relationship with Glacier Bay proper, within Glacier Bay National Park. Of particular importance in this study are the cultural resource impacts and mitigation options relating to the Vessel Quotas and Operating Requirements (VQOR) plan, which regulates the number of cruise ships operating in the Bay—now, and into the foreseeable future. As the number of ships entering Glacier Bay proper is likely to affect resources that are of enduring interest to Huna Tlingit, the documentation that follows has been developed to aid deliberations regarding the VQOR plan and a range of other management issues and functions within Glacier Bay National Park. While we recognize that the effects of cruise ships may be widely distributed throughout Glacier Bay proper, this document directs particular attention to the effects on potential Traditional Cultural Properties—a category of property on the National Register of Historic Places that requires special consideration in the course of park management.

Sitting at the heart of Glacier Bay National Park (GLBA), Glacier Bay proper (GBP) is a cornerstone of the traditional homeland of the Huna (or Hoonah) Tlingit (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998). Archaeological and oral history evidence suggest long occupation of Glacier Bay prior to the most recent glacial event (the so-called Little Ice Age), during which glacial ice displaced the residents of the valley now occupied by Glacier Bay, forcing them to relocate to Hoonah and other Tlingit villages in northern southeast Alaska. Portions of the pre-glaciation valley landscape remained relatively intact, while others were changed permanently by the creation of the sprawling fjord now known as Glacier Bay. The Huna Tlingit community has maintained and reestablished connections to Glacier Bay and its landmarks in the years since the glaciers' retreat and the creation of Glacier Bay National Park (GLBA) as a unit of the National Park system. These modern Huna connections to Glacier Bay are based on both ancient tribal oral tradition, as well as the more recent experiences of tribal members. They are also deeply important to modern Huna Tlingit, who continue to value this place and recognize it as the core of their traditional homeland. As one interviewee notes, "Glacier Bay is where our heart swells...[it is] a place to find out in large part who we are" (AN).

Simultaneously, GBP has become a focal point of a robust tourist industry, especially involving park visitation by cruise ships. Today, more than 90% of the park's visitors arrive as cruise ship passengers. Up to 153 cruise ships have been entering GBP annually in recent years; impressively large ships, with passengers numbering in

excess of 2,000, are now a regular presence in the Bay. In recent years, Huna tribal members have expressed concerns about the effects of this cruise ship traffic on culturally significant landscapes and heritage values within their homeland—both informally and in the course of formal consultation with the National Park Service (NPS). These impacts have a wide range of potential ramifications for NPS management, under various federal laws, policies, and regulations.

The discussion of cruise ship effects on the culturally significant places and values of Huna Tlingit has operated within a much broader discussion of park policy and management on the subject of cruise ship effects. In 2004, the NPS completed a planning process, resulting in the “Vessel Quotas and Operating Requirements” plan (VQOR) which seeks to balance continued public access with the protection of park resources. The VQOR reconfirmed limits on vessel numbers for tour boats, charter boats, and private vessels established by the 1996 Vessel Management Plan. However, the VQOR also provides for changes in the numbers of cruise ships visiting Glacier Bay. The plan allows for increases in cruise ship numbers above the 139-ship annual limit established by the 1996 plan, allowing for up to two ships per day for the 90 day tourist season (Memorial Day to Labor Day), or a total of 180 ships annually. The Superintendent is given the discretion of increasing cruise ship numbers up to that level using an “adaptive management” approach and drawing on data presented by a science advisory board formulated for this purpose. Soon after adoption of VQOR, the Superintendent increased the seasonal cruise ship number to 153 ships, and since, the number has remained at 153. The current study is one of several that may aid in decisions undertaken by the Superintendent and other parties in assessing the possible cultural effects of changes in cruise ship numbers in the future.

The research that follows was prompted in no small part by this planning process and the process of tribal consultation that accompanied it. Based on feedback from Alaska Native representatives in the course of consultation on the VQOR and its implementation, NPS planners and Tlingit representatives agreed that there was a need to systematically gather information on the nature and extent of cruise ship impacts on cultural places and values. Guided by this, the current study aims to provide data to the Superintendent, GLBA staff, and the science advisory board that will help illuminate cultural resource impacts of alternative cruise ship number scenarios by investigating certain key themes, including: 1) what *perceived impacts* to ethnographic resources—defined here as “landscapes, objects, plants and animals, or sites and structures that are important to a people's sense of purpose or way of life”¹—do cruise ships introduce into Glacier Bay proper, 2) what impacts to ethnographic resources would an increase of ship numbers cause, and 3) what measures can be taken to reduce those impacts. This document does not attempt to itemize people's general concerns with cruise ships, especially those that might occur outside the park where NPS has no jurisdiction, or to illuminate any concerns that Tlingit people might have about NPS management on themes that do not have a bearing on this topic. Its focus is

specifically on the potential ethnographic resource impacts of cruise ships in Glacier Bay proper, with an eye toward the management implications of these findings.

In addition to being of general use to park planners, the science advisory board, and the Superintendent, and of importance to NHPA compliance, cultural information relating to cruise ship numbers also must be gathered for compliance purposes during the implementation of the VQOR. The content of the document may aid all parties in addressing a variety of salient federal cultural resource laws and policies, including the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), and others. Accordingly, the current study has been designed to broadly solicit contextual information regarding the connection between cruise ship numbers and Tlingit cultural interests in Glacier Bay, while also identifying specific resources, cultural values and concerns that might aid the park in meeting the compliance mandates of these laws and policies.

In addition, concurrent to the park's deliberation on vessel effects, NPS managers have also identified a number of locations associated with GBP that are eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) due to their enduring cultural and historical significance to the Huna Tlingit. These include, but are not necessarily limited to, four areas within the park: Point Gustavus/Bartlett Cove (*Gaathéeni* / *L'eiwshaa Shakee Aan*), Berg Bay (*Chookanhéeni*), Margerie Glacier (*Sít'k'i T'ooch'*), and Mt. Fairweather (*Tsalx̄aan/Yeik Ye Aani/ Géelák'w*).² (While Mt. Fairweather does not abut Glacier Bay proper, it is highly visible from the interior waters of Glacier Bay and, as a traditional landscape and cultural property, is understood by Huna people to be fundamentally linked to the Bay.) Map 1 shows the locations of these four TCP areas, which are now being actively considered for nomination to the National Register. A fifth place, the Marble Islands (*K'wát' Aani*), is still under consideration as a potential TCP, but Alaska's SHPO has indicated that it may not meet the TCP standard, and therefore does not appear on this map. Some portion of the likely TCPs within Glacier Bay proper—and perhaps all of them – are affected by cruise ship traffic, especially Margerie Glacier, which is considered especially sacred to the Huna Tlingit clans and is the ultimate destination of almost every cruise ship entering GBP. Most of the other TCPs, while not formal destinations of cruise ship traffic, are nonetheless within sensory range of cruise ships, and their use and significance by contemporary Tlingit people may be affected by cruise ship presence and numbers.

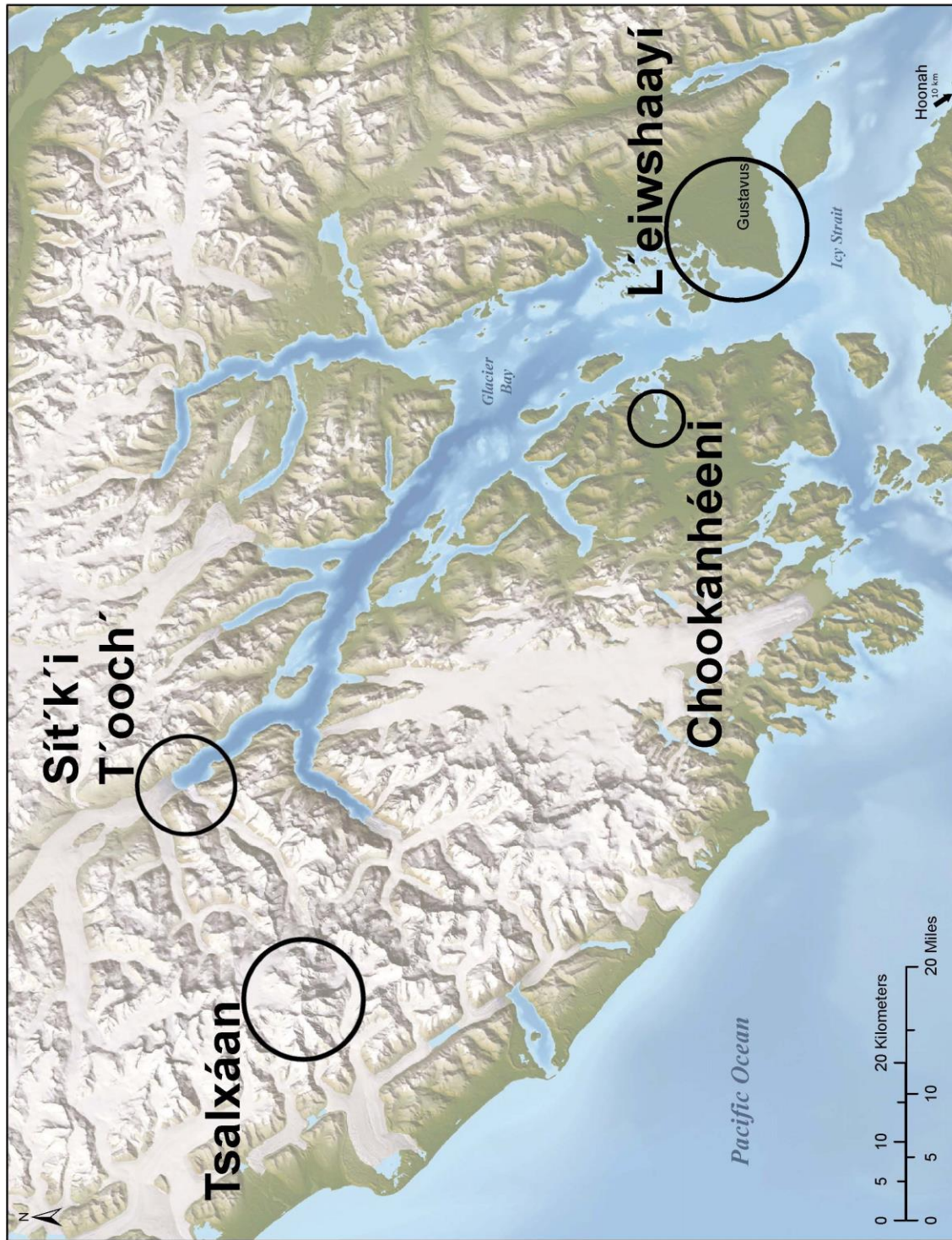
While we recognize that cruise ships appear to affect a range of cultural places, activities and values throughout Glacier Bay proper, these TCPs have a unique status in the planning process. Sections 110 and 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), as well as other federal laws, policies, and regulations require some consideration of potential effects of park operations—including vessel quotas—on TCPs and the management planning that accounts for them. Simultaneously, the

significance of these TCPs are rooted in cultural values and practices, often spiritual in nature, and are based on deep historical associations and traditional protocols that are difficult to quantify and often invisible to casual non-Native observers. This disjunction, then, raises a number of questions. What are the effects of cruise ship proximity to these sites? Is one ship acceptable? Are two ships at a time too many? Would occasional zero-ship days accommodate Huna concerns? What are the perceived effects of cruise ships and other vessels on these places? Is there any impact to the food resources traditionally gathered at the proposed TCPs and at other places in the Bay? Are there impacts on other less tangible cultural resources? These and other questions had to be asked in a systematic way, and the results analyzed and presented here so that the Superintendent can make fully informed decisions regarding cruise ship numbers and their potential cultural resource impacts. Further, this document seeks to help illuminate themes that may help facilitate positive park-tribes relationships into the future; some of the foundations of the Huna Tlingit relationship with Park Management are addressed in the pages that follow, as well as discussion of the Tribe's desire for respectful engagement with their ancestral territories within Glacier Bay and their desire for a higher degree of involvement in the overall management of resources in the Park.

Tlingit Huna identified a wide range of cruise ship effects on places, resources, and activities of cultural significance. These effects are arguably both "direct" and "indirect" and are organized accordingly in the pages that follow. Drawing from the guidance of interviewees, we identify ways that the adverse effects might be minimized or mitigated—especially through interpretive efforts and other activities that directly involve Huna people and perspectives. We present these findings recognizing that ethnographic effects are often "perceived" in the sense that they exist in the hearts and minds of Alaska Native people and that the effects do not always leave clear physical traces. Moreover, we recognize that there are some perceptions that are not always in line with modern "ground truth" in the park, reflecting, for example, the considerable time that has passed since certain interviewees traveled certain portions of GPB, and changes in park policy, natural resource conditions, or cruise ship activities in the intervening years. Still, we present information on these perceptions, recognizing that perceptions, alone, can continue to color Huna Tlingit interaction with the NPS. Our results suggest that genuine confusion regarding modern park policy, for example, commonly results in Huna avoidance of the park to avoid potential conflicts with park staff—conflicts that would be very unlikely to occur within the context of modern park policy and management. In some respects, this sort of lingering misperception represents an "impact" on traditional use. Moreover, brought to the agency's attention, this sort of impact can be readily remedied by conscious NPS initiatives—more readily than is true of many less tractable categories of impact.

The current work builds upon previous work by park staff and upon longstanding relationships between the NPS and the community of Hoonah. A few Huna Tlingit have maintained permanent or seasonal positions in the park, while other non-Native park staff have maintained close relationships with the Huna Tlingit community. Many of these individuals have contributed significantly to the current study, formally and informally. So too, over the past decade the NPS, the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA), Huna Heritage Foundation (HHF), and Hoonah City Schools (HCS) have organized vessel trips into GBP to provide access for several hundred Huna Tlingit annually. These trips allow participants to directly experience cruise ship use within their homeland. As this report documents, these trips have been valuable in helping Huna Tlingits to assess first-hand any impacts, and in allowing them to develop or refine their points of view on ethnographic resource questions within GBP. They have also been of value to the current study, as the lead authors have tagged along on more than one occasion to conduct interviews, observe, and participate in these culturally significant events.

Recognizing the need to systematically gather Huna perceptions, analyze them, and present them in a way to support planning needs, the National Park Service initiated the current study, collaborating with Portland State University anthropology faculty with special expertise in Tlingit cultural practices and NPS cultural resource assessments—with Drs. Douglas Deur and Thomas Thornton as the lead investigators, working under a task agreement within the Pacific Northwest CESU (CESU). Through this cooperative effort, the NPS provided existing data and has helped facilitate all research with Huna participants. PSU researchers were responsible for carrying out most research tasks for this study, in order to document the perceptions of the Huna Tlingit community regarding the effects cruise ships have on traditional cultural values within Glacier Bay. The report that follows documents the outcome of this multi-year research effort. We sincerely hope that this effort will help the NPS and Huna Tlingit in many ways, helping to maintain and bolster relationships of mutual trust that will ensure the integrity of Huna Tlingit culture and the integrity of Glacier Bay, into the foreseeable future.



Map 1: The locations of potential Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) associated with Glacier Bay proper. USDI-NPS Glacier Bay National Park map.

METHODS

In the course of this research effort, PSU researchers and NPS staff have conducted an ethnographic study that seeks to address the issues outlined above. The PSU researchers, Drs. Deur and Thornton, collaborated with NPS staff, Wayne Howell, Mary Beth Moss, and Kenneth Grant, in particular, to develop the project work plan, identifying specific research objectives and methods. Following the establishment of a CESU task agreement between the NPS and PSU, Deur and Thornton completed all Human Subjects requirements to prepare for the research. In May of 2010, the two lead researchers took part in field visits to Glacier Bay proper with Huna Tlingit representatives, during which they gathered information regarding Huna perceptions of cruise ship impacts on traditional cultural properties and activities. They then conducted follow-up interviews with Huna representatives on project themes in the communities of Hoonah and Juneau, Alaska, in May, July, and August of 2010. Similar research efforts followed over the next three years, with research trips to Hoonah and Juneau, as well as trips to Glacier Bay Proper with Huna interviewees, in 2011, 2012, and 2013. Based on formal interviews with a total of 50 people, informal interviews with many others, as well as a concise literature review, the researchers have developed the following thematic summary of the concerns of Huna representatives. This thematic summary addresses the types of cruise ship impacts reported, identifies the specific ethnographic resources impacted, and provides an overview of Huna Tlingit perspectives that might contribute essential information for the larger VQOR planning process.

Through interviews and participant observation, the researchers sought to illuminate certain key themes, including:

- Specific, observed cruise ship impacts upon the four potential Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) and other categories of culturally significant places that might later be determined to merit TCP status;
- The implications of hypothetical changes in cruise ship numbers on Tlingit uses and views of these potential TCPs and, in turn, on the “integrity” of these Traditional Cultural Properties as defined in NPS National Register Bulletin 38;
- Specific, observed cruise ship impacts upon traditional food resources and other culturally significant natural resources, as well as the timing, quantities, and geographical distribution of their harvests;

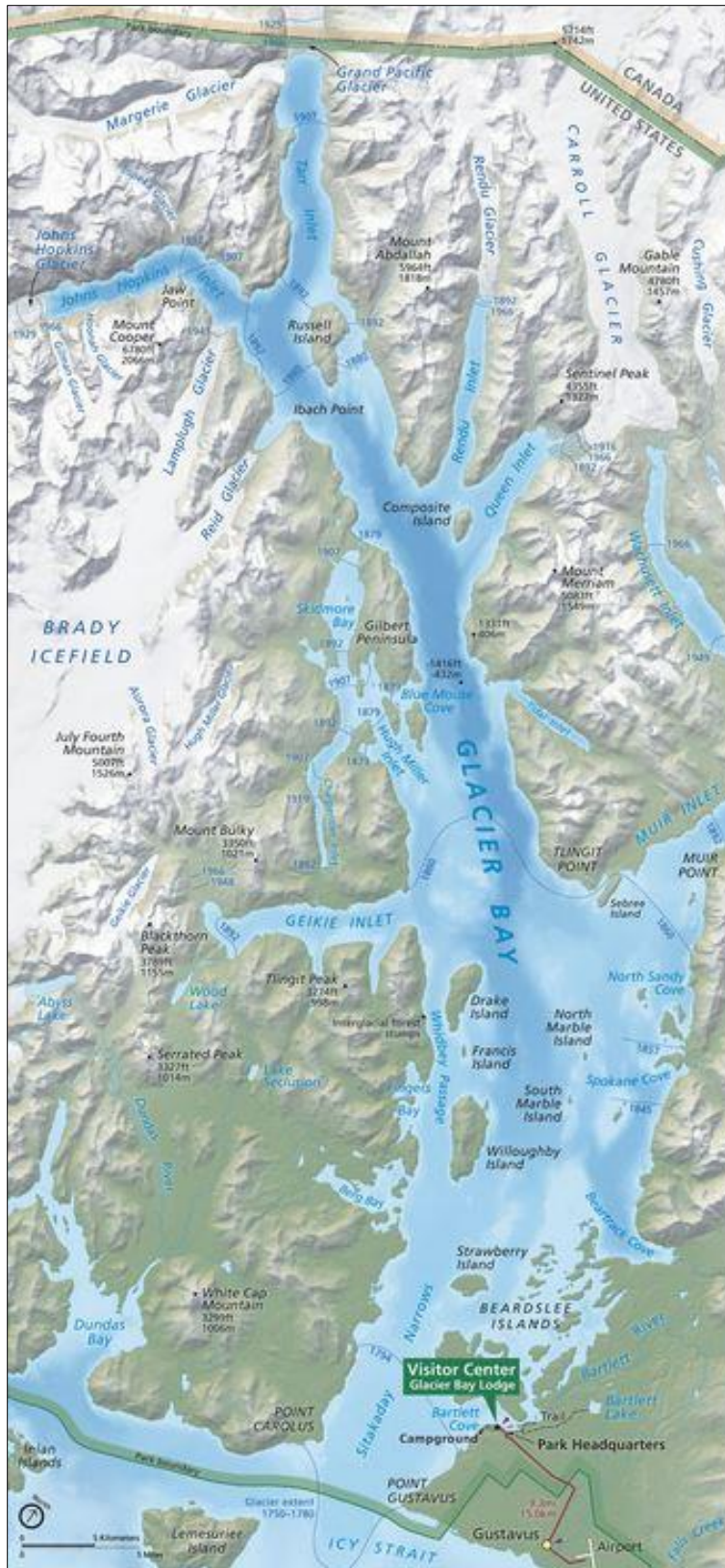
- The implications of hypothetical changes in cruise ship numbers on Tlingit views and uses of culturally significant natural resources within Glacier Bay proper;
- The regulatory significance of these cruise ship impacts, as well as impacts anticipated under a range of vessel quota change scenarios;
- The dimensions of certain concepts identified in this document such as “respect,” “fairness,” and “refuge” and their implications for park management and cruise ship interactions. For example, are perceptions of disrespect from cruise ships unavoidable due to the mere presence of these vessels, or by actual observed activities of cruise ships, such as the formerly common practice of sounding of ships’ horns to calve glaciers? How does a ship’s presence cause disrespect to culturally significant animals or other beings inhabiting the park? How might a ship crew’s or passenger’s behavior demonstrate disrespect to Tlingit culture, and how might such conduct be avoided or have been remedied successfully in the past?
- Specific recommendations for park management in how to mitigate perceived cruise ship impacts on ethnographic resources within Glacier Bay proper.

The researchers carried out semi-structured interviews addressing each of these key study themes in the summers of 2010-2013. In addition, on the park boat and also aboard cruise ships, the authors were able to visit specific potential TCPs within Glacier Bay proper, so as to conduct site assessments and field interviews with Huna individuals on-site. With interviewees’ consent, interviews were audio-recorded, and full transcripts produced for all project interviews for the use of Huna community members and NPS managers.

Interviews were inductive, being structured but open-ended. Questions invited interviewees to contribute any observations they might wish to share regarding cultural sites and practices that might be affected by cruise ship numbers, observed or anticipated cruise ship impacts, and to recommend potential mitigation alternatives. Recognizing that the range of resources, impacts, and Tlingit associations were numerous and diverse, the researchers determined that it was best to “cast the net broadly” in interviews rather than providing rigidly predetermined “impact” topics and questions to interviewees. In light of the complex range of issues involved, the interviewers also “cast the net broadly” in terms of the identity of interviewees, recruiting interviewees across generations and among many types of users (such as past and present commercial fishermen, cultural interpreters, cruise ship promoters

and detractors within the Huna community, and so on). A list of common opening and follow-up questions is provided in Appendix 1, at the end of this document. Outcomes of these interviews, as well as literature review and other project tasks, were compiled and analyzed for recurring themes. On the basis of this analysis, we have developed the current thematic report, using concepts and terms understandable by anthropological non-specialists, for use by the Superintendent and resource management staff of Glacier Bay National Park, as well as for the people of Hoonah.

It is important to note that the comments made by interviewees and included in this document often reflect their observations of cruise ship impacts over a long period of time. This provides contextual depth to the current project, as interviewees' personal history of GBP visitation allows them to comment on changes they have witnessed over the course of several decades and might suggest general trends in cruise ship impacts over this period. With such a time depth of personal observation, however, it is important to note that some interviewees' comments allude to past impacts, including a number of issues that seem to have been resolved some time ago. Yet, the fact that these issues emerge in contemporary interviews may still be of interest to the park and others, as such interviewee comments sometimes reflect enduring perceptions of the park and the National Park Service that arguably still influence Tlingit relationships with the park. Comments on past conflicts sometimes seem to indicate that Hoonah residents might have outdated information on park policy and assume that the park is still being managed under old policies and regulations that they found onerous, unjust, or disrespectful. Some of these comments point toward opportunities for clarification in future park-tribe communications and thus are included in qualified form within the pages that follow.



Map 2: Glacier Bay Proper, as shown in the NPS brochure, “Compact Atlas of Glacier Bay.”

Enduring Connections:

Glacier Bay Places and Huna Tlingit Cultural Values

In this section, we provide an overview of the importance of lands, resources, and cultural practices tied to Glacier Bay proper among Huna Tlingit. Drawing largely from the knowledge and perspectives shared by Huna interviewees, we summarize this information here in order to provide a context for understanding the enduring values ascribed to Glacier Bay proper by the Huna community. It is important to remember that cruise ships have arrived relatively recently in what has been a significantly longer Huna Tlingit history in Glacier Bay. Huna people assess the implications of cruise ships in light of the broad sweep of their history—their view of Glacier Bay proper as homeland, their sense of displacement from that homeland, their struggles to maintain distinct cultural traditions, and so on. It is only by considering these historical and cultural foundations that one can begin to meaningfully understand the implications of Glacier Bay cruise ships in the Huna world.

In spite of the diversity of the interviewees for this project, together they provided a consistent picture of what Glacier Bay proper means to the community. The Bay remains an enduring homeland for the Huna Tlingit for many reasons. It holds that status because it is seen as a unique place to gather resources—those resources are widely understood to be more abundant, more “pure,” and perhaps more spiritually potent. The Bay is a place where the Huna might continue to commemorate their ancestors and to continue to connect with ancestors through ceremonies and other activities. The Bay is seen as a “safe haven,” a “refuge,” an “anchor,” a “home base” — in other words, a place that defines the Huna and to which they can return in times of personal or shared turbulence to find grounding. It is also still widely understood as a place that is “owned” by the Huna under traditional protocols, where they now must travel more as official “guests” than “hosts,” reversing their old social order. Each of these themes is addressed in the pages that follow.

Cruise ships can, and sometimes have, affected each of these properties of the Bay. In doing so, they have affected the integrity of a range of valuable ethnographic resources—Traditional Cultural Properties, certainly, but also all the things that contribute to the existence of a TCP—a living connection to place, opportunities for future knowledge transmission, and the like. The effects are sometimes tangible, such as pollution, wakes, or crowding in portions of the Bay. Yet, for many Huna, those effects are mostly objectionable due to their relatively intangible qualities—the fact that they are seen as “disrespectful,” the fact that they are potent reminders of a loss of Huna control

over the fate of the Bay, or the prioritization of international tourism over the preferences of local people. In the discussion of impacts that follows this section, it is important to bear this in mind: no one category of impact is entirely distinct from another, and none of these impacts can be understood without first comprehending the foundational connections between Huna culture, Huna history, and Glacier Bay proper.

GLACIER BAY AS AN ENDURING HOMELAND OF THE HUNA TLINGIT

Huna connections with Glacier Bay are ancient. Tlingit oral history suggests that the ancestors of today's Huna settled very early in this part of Southeast Alaska.

Archaeological evidence of human settlement in the vicinity of Glacier Bay, though it has not been conclusively tied to modern Tlingits, extends back some 10,000 years, based on archaeological sites at Ground Hog Bay, just east of Gustavus and Excursion Inlet (Ackerman 1968; Ackerman, Hamilton, and Stuckenrath 1979). Based on oral histories gathered in the late nineteenth century, Emmons (n.d.) concluded that the Huna region was home to the first wave of human occupants from the south that "later contributed to the peopling and formation of all of the more northern Tlingit tribes." Physical evidence of early occupation of Glacier Bay proper, however, is limited due to the subsequent advance and retreat of the vast glacier that occupied the entire Glacier Bay basin during and after the Little Ice Age, which destroyed most evidence of human occupation.³ The earliest known Tlingit name for Glacier Bay is *S'e Shuyee* (Drainage at the End of the Glacial Mud), which evokes a very different landscape than the present bay, alluding to the river valley that occupied the landscape prior to the Little Ice Age (~800-250 years ago; Connor, et al 2009). The name *S'e Shuyee* appears to date from 1300 – 1750 A.D., when settlements flourished along the salmon-rich streams draining the glacial forelands near present day Bartlett Cove, Berg Bay, and Beardslee Islands. A number of the northern Tlingit clans trace their roots to these settlements in Glacier Bay prior to the development of the fjord complex that defines Glacier Bay geography today.

The glacial advance during the Little Ice Age proved devastating for Tlingit inhabitants of Glacier Bay and is vividly recorded in Huna Tlingit oral histories (Hall 1962, S. James and A. Marvin in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987), which are manifested in various songs, stories, names, and regalia that invoke the glacial advance (Thornton 2008). The violation of a menstrual taboo by a young Chookanshaa (female member of the Chookaneidí clan) is said to have triggered the advance (see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987:244–91; Thornton 1995, 2008; Cruikshank 2005:158–60). The glacier was said to have advanced down the valley at the speed of a running dog, according to Chookaneidí oral tradition, destroying everything in its path. The forced exodus was, by all accounts, a profoundly painful and disruptive event, ultimately dispersing the Glacier Bay clans to different settlements, including those in the Spasski Bay/Port Frederick area (Chookaneidí and T'akdeintaan), the Ground Hog Bay area (Kaagwaantaan), the Point Gustavus/Excursion Inlet area (Wooshkeetaan), and the Dundas Bay area (T'akdeintaan, and others, perhaps seasonal). A fifth clan, the Eecheetaan, or Reef People, disappeared altogether following these events. The glacial advance displaced all of these groups, but after generations of intermarriage between

these clans and the clans of the villages where they settled, most northern Tlingit people trace some part of their origins to the valley that later became the Bay.

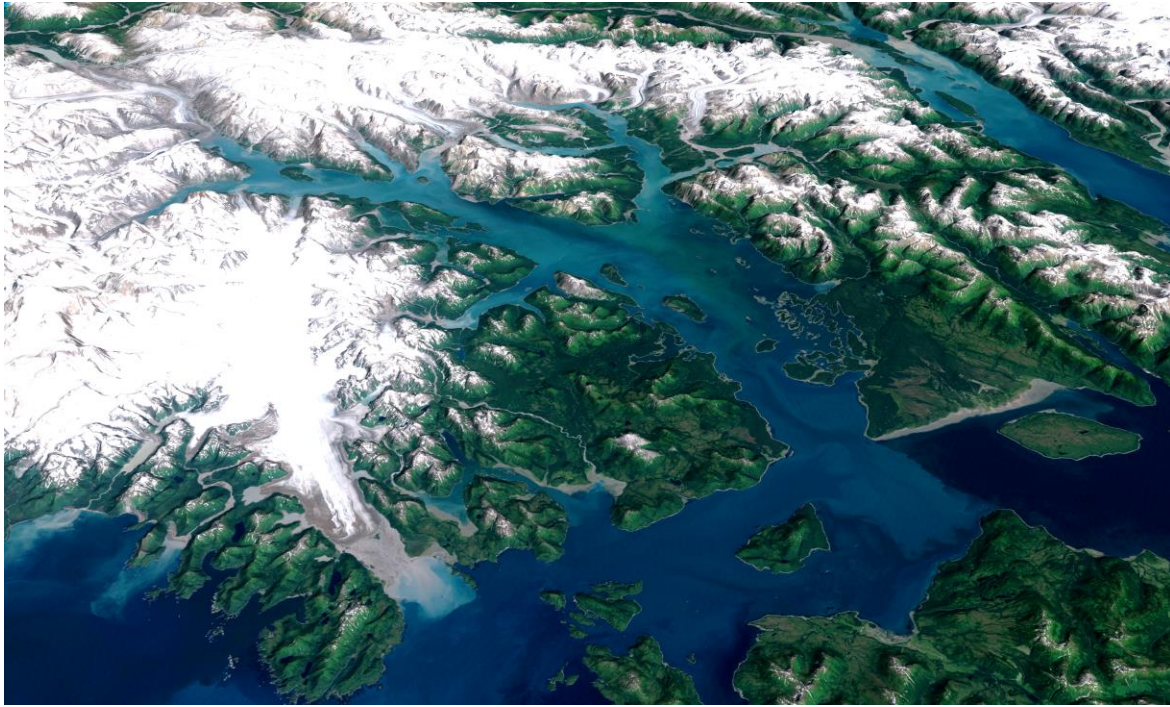


Figure 2: A color-enhanced landsat image showing Glacier Bay proper from above and to the southwest. From Landsat Project Science Office, NASA's Goddard Space Flight.

Oral traditions also trace the divergent migratory paths of the individual clans as they fled from the advancing glaciers. Each clan, the Chookeneidi and T'akdeintaan (Spasski Bay/Port Frederick area), Kaagwaantaan (Ground Hog Bay area), and Wooshkeetaan (Excursion Inlet area), has a unique migration narrative, and clan names often derive from the events and locations mentioned in these accounts.⁴ The significance of clan names is still recognized by the Tlingit today. As James Jack attests, "People know who belongs, you know even at this day and age. You still, you can look at a family and say, 'Oh, they're Kaagwaantaans' you know. Or you can look and say, 'They're T'akdeintaans.' And people know" (JJ). With that association, people can also instantly recognize what part of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve serves as a geographical locus to the identity of an individual or a family.

As the Little Ice Age reached its peak and the glaciers started to recede, the landscape of the Bay was restructured once again. The active retreat of most of the park's glaciers continue today, and many Tlingit people have witnessed the recession of these glaciers

within their lifetimes at places like Muir Inlet, Adams Inlet, Tarr Inlet, Queen Inlet and Geikie Inlet. The Tlingit name of the Glacier Bay region changed to fit this new geographical reality. Alice Haldane, a Huna interpreter for Huna Totem, who works on the Holland America cruise ships, explains that the Tlingit place name for Glacier Bay, itself, refers to the Bay that replaced the previous glacier:

And I show them where we used to live, right at the beginning, right at Bartlett Cove there. You know, they were able to walk across before the ice came down and just carved it out and Sít' Eeti Geiyí is Glacier Bay but it translates as 'Bay in Place of the Glacier' (AH).

Many other placenames in the Bay reference the geographical changes witnessed by Tlingit people during this dramatic glaciation and the similarly dramatic deglaciation that followed (see HIA 2006; Thornton 1995, 2008).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the clans displaced by the advancing glacier of Glacier Bay had reorganized mainly in Hoonah, where government schools and services were being developed. However, they continued to seasonally occupy earlier, remote settlement sites and returned to Glacier Bay, re-establishing food gathering ties to places in the Bay when the glaciers retreated again, after 1750. This continuing presence is reflected by additional placenames added to the land after the glacial retreat, with terms describing the valley's evolution from a terrestrial river valley to an ice-clogged landscape to a glacial fjord (HIA 2006; Thornton 1995, 2008, 2012). Today, Hoonah, Alaska – with an estimated 2013 population of 753 people – is the center of Huna Tlingit community life.

All of the clans associated with Glacier Bay proper continue to claim traditional cultural property rights to lands and resources within and immediately surrounding the Park and Preserve as a result of these events – especially places associated with pre-glaciation clan origin narratives and other oral traditions – as well as sacred possessions such as songs and regalia associated with them. These ties are complex and intersecting in ways that defy simple territorialization. Thus, although parts of lower Glacier Bay may now be claimed exclusively as TCPs by particular clans, all clans descended from Glacier Bay may feel enduring special ties to those areas their ancestors inhabited and had to abandon in the exodus necessitated by the Little Ice Age glacial advance.

In Tlingit legal-historical traditions, ownership claims may be exclusive to particular matrilineages (moieties, clans, or house groups). These legal-historical claims are typically embodied as *at.óowu* ("owned things" or "sacred possessions"; see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987, 1991; Thornton 2008), including lands and waters, geographic landmarks, animals and plants, and symbolic property such as songs,

stories, crests, and names. While Glacier Bay is the homeland of all Tlingit people, as manifested above, each Tlingit clan claims different areas of traditional cultural property rights within the Bay.⁵ Frank O. Williams describes how clans apply the concept of *at.óow* to various areas within contemporary Glacier Bay, rooted in the preglacial occupation of that Bay by the ancestors of modern Tlingit:

We talk about the Bay itself not the monument area, Glacier Bay. It was my father's people, the Chookaneidí. The Chookaneidí owned it, Glacier Bay. And you go over towards the north...that's Wooshkeetaan, the Eagle. And over towards Couverden...Kaagwaantaan. The three Eagle groups: Kaagwaantaan, Chookaneidí, Wooshkeetaan. But there's just one Raven group [T'akdeintaan]. Chookaneidí say they occupied Glacier Bay before there was any glacier [advance] (FO).⁶

Because all four of the clans mentioned above trace their pre-Hoonah homeland to Glacier Bay, each of them still maintains strong ties with the Bay proper and other portions of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve and its immediate environs where they hold *at.óowu* and traditional property rights.

Thus, in a very fundamental sense, Glacier Bay is the “homeland” of the Tlingit people, and the significance of Glacier Bay to the Huna, their culture, and the shared and individual identities of Huna people. The Bay has been called both “special” and “precious,” described as a spiritual refuge, a place where the ancestors reside, a source of heritage and belonging, and a place that fosters a sense of ownership. It is also understood to be socially, spiritually and functionally associated with Hoonah – itself part of the Huna traditional homeland. In the words of Jean Lampe, a T'akdeintaan, “You know, I often hear people say, ‘Glacier Bay is the homeland of Huna Tlingit people’...like it's separate. Like it's over here and Hoonah is here, but in my mind...it's all encompassing” (JL).

Glacier Bay is so significant to the Tlingit people, in part, because the Bay has not only served as a home to the people, but it also figured prominently in most aspects of northern Tlingit history, helping to create and shape who the Tlingit are today. Veronica Dalton, for example, describes the significance of the Bay as an integral component of the Tlingit's history:

Well our histories were from there. We've been told stories [about] where we come from, and when the ice advanced we ended up here. That's the first thing that I remember being told about Glacier Bay (VD).

Frank Wright echoes the sentiment that Glacier Bay is an essential part of the Tlingit people, both on an individual and collective level,

I always say...when you take one part of a person, especially a Tlingit person, you take one part away, you're diminishing their identity as who they are. So being a Chookaneidi-yádi, you know, I should have that right to be able to go in there [Glacier Bay], but I can't, so the next generation of anybody that's going to be...you're diminishing a person, so it's a kind of [like]...you're eliminating a person (FR).

The locations of villages and other places of importance to the Huna clans are the focus of songs, stories, and oral traditions, as well as being featured on clan regalia. Huna Tlingit still visit and revere places associated with their ancestors' activities in the Bay, from both before and after the glaciation. James Jack, for example, notes that his ancestors made their home in Beartrack and Bartlett coves, places that continue to be spiritually significant because of the villages as well as associated burial in those places:

My ancestors, the Wooshkeetaan, had a house, a tribal house in Beartrack Cove. It was called Hít Tlein, which meant Big House. And Wooshkeetaan settled in Bartlett Cove. There was a T'akdeintaan settlement on the island in front of Bartlett Cove, and there's still evidence of a graveyard there (JJ).

On visits to Glacier Bay, including the annual NPS-sponsored boat trips, Huna people often stop at these places to convey clan knowledge to younger people traveling with them.

This origin and history of Huna people in the Bay also contributes to a general understanding of the Bay and its constituent parts as sacred. As Bob Loescher notes, "it's a sacred place...the whole Bay is sacred," --not only the Traditional Cultural Properties, but every part of the Bay. Indeed, some find the differentiation of TCPs inherently problematic for this reason. Again quoting Bob Loescher,

The whole bay is sacred to us. We can tell you about every place, but you want us now to designate little parts...They want to appease us by putting aside little areas for cultural recognition. That ain't going to fly (BL).



Figure 3: Bartlett Cove, as seen from the shoreline near Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve Headquarters. Sitting near the entrance to Glacier Bay proper, this area has long been a center of Tlingit settlement and traditional resource harvests. Though Bartlett Cove is partially developed, the area still contains significant undeveloped areas and has sufficient integrity to allow for Traditional Cultural Property status. Douglas Deur photo.

In turn, these places are seen as key to Huna identity and potentially healing or restorative to people who return. As George Dalton, Jr. asserts, “It’s like medicine to me, coming back to Glacier Bay...being here it makes me proud to be Huna.” These points will receive additional attention in the pages that follow.

Similarly, many consultants described a strong yearning to return to Glacier Bay. This sensation is described as a “pull” or “tug” to return to the ancestral home, regardless of time. Gordon Greenwald mentions the “tug” in reference to those Tlingit who leave home to go to college,

For those [students] I say the ‘tug.’ The scope is long. But they still...know that Glacier Bay is home. Hoonah is where they grew up. Glacier Bay, for them, is home. [One] is Chookaneidí, and he knows that Glacier Bay is home for him. And they both understand, because both of them experienced both places together, and they happen to be still actually together themselves, they understand each other’s tie to those lands. And so again, that scope, that anchor, that tug, we never give it up...We can’t. We give it up, we drift (GG).

Ernie Hillman fished in Glacier Bay beginning in the 1940s. His wife, who was born in Hoonah but grew up in Juneau, joined him on his boat in the 1960s. Similar to the “tug” described by Gordon Greenwald, Ernie Hillman described the “pull” that Glacier Bay has on all Tlingit people,

And nice day, we’re just plugging along a little bit, and I told the wife, you know, ‘Look at those mountains.’ ‘Yeah,’ she said. I’m sitting out here, back deck there watching the scenery go by. She said, ‘It’s so beautiful, the mountains, the blue sky.’ I told her, ‘Yep, it’s the pull that pulled you back in here,’ you know (EH).

Some families are so drawn to their ancestral homeland that they even return the remains of deceased family members to Glacier Bay proper, though that person may have lived most of their life in Hoonah or other southeastern Alaska communities.

Thus, Huna traditionally do not consider Glacier Bay to exist separate from them, but rather to be an integral element of their identity as a people. Yet, the theme of “displacement” and “diaspora” is central to Huna associations with Glacier Bay proper, reflecting in part the unique role of the glacial advance in tribal history, culture, and ceremony. The arrival of the NPS is seen by some as a kind of “second round of displacement” that mirrors the first episode. Like the first round, the second is seen as potentially reversible but not without monumental and permanent effects. Glacier Bay has in some respects become a “contested landscape,” with recoverable episodes and mechanisms of displacement. As will be illuminated in later sections, this has significant implications in understanding Tlingit responses to what they often see as their exclusion from the Bay. Eliminating access to a place so central to Huna Tlingit identity is often equated by some Tlingit interviewees with “eliminating a person,” in effect ethnocide or “cultural genocide.” This point was made in one way or another in the majority of interviews.⁷ While not reproduced fully here, additional comments on this theme can be retrieved from almost every transcript and recording in this study’s project archive.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

As noted in the introductory sections of this document, numerous cultural associations between the Huna community and Glacier Bay Proper endure, and in most respects apply to the Bay as a whole. However, there are places of uniquely prominent cultural significance that stand apart somewhat due to their unique position in Huna history and culture. Those of the greatest and most enduring prominence within the park have been identified as potential Traditional Cultural Properties under the authorities of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and as defined in NPS National Register Bulletin 38. It is to that category of place that our attention now turns.

As defined in National Register guidance, including Bulletin 38, a Traditional Cultural Property (or “TCP”) is a cultural landscape of national historical significance due to its association with “cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in the community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of a community” (NPS 1990). If a cultural property is formally assessed through an ethnographic investigation and determined to meet TCP criteria, it can then be nominated for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. As this often takes time, in the interim such properties are treated “as if” they have TCP status. This status does not necessarily limit other uses of the site, but rather necessitates that they be evaluated against the recognized cultural value of the TCP. No matter where the TCP stands in this process, so long as a place has been formally determined eligible, and “concurrence” has been received from the NPS National Register Program and/or a state’s State Historic Preservation Office, federal agencies must demonstrate that they have considered mechanisms for minimizing or mitigating any adverse effects of planned or permitted actions on the TCP. Guidance on this process is available from the NPS National Register Program and their many publications (e.g., NPS 1990 , 1991).

Investigations of Traditional Cultural Property values in Glacier Bay began with a study of named places in the Park and Preserve, which was co-sponsored by GLBA, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and Huna elders (HIA 2006). In this process and in separate ethnographic work, it was clear that Huna Tlingits, as well as other descendants of the Glacier Bay clans dwelling in other communities, continue to maintain strong cultural values and affiliations rooted in specific landscapes of Glacier Bay. In the course of this and subsequent investigations of potential TCPs within Glacier Bay proper, the following TCPs have been identified:

- **Point Gustavus** (*S'íx' X'áayí*, [Big] Dish Point): This place has been determined to be eligible for TCP status based on its significance to the Wooshkeetaan clan, which had houses there, composed songs there, and sacrificed two men to purchase peace there. The proposed TCP

boundaries extend toward Bartlett Cove to the northeast, and Gustavus to the east; the NPS may combine this property with Bartlett Cove within a single TCP.

- **Bartlett Cove** (*L'éiw Shaa Shakee.aan, Town on Top of the Sand Hill*): This place is associated with the largest aboriginal settlement in *S'e Shuyee* and encompasses Bartlett Cove as well as the Bartlett River, Lester Island, and perhaps other islands in the Beardslees. It is considered a likely TCP due to its unique cultural and historical importance for all the Tlingit clans that resided there at the time of the Little Ice Age advance (GLBA 2004). For organizational purposes, and due to their proximity, Point Gustavus and Bartlett Cove are treated as a single area in this report (e.g., Map 1) and it is likely that a nomination for those places would be combined into a single National Register document.
- **Berg Bay** (*Chookanhéeni, Beach Grass River*): This watershed, a multi-species salmon river, is central to the history and development of the Chookaneidí clan, and the clan takes its name from the watershed – the basis for the TCP status of this place (NPS 2009).
- **Margerie Glacier and associated Glaciers** (*Sít' Tlein, Big Glacier, Sít'k'i T'ooch', Little Black Glacier*): Margerie Glacier, like the other glaciers in the park, is conceptualized as a living being with its own spirit and agency and a manifestation of the glacier that overran Tlingit ancestral villages during the Little Ice Age. Margerie Glacier figures prominently on Chookaneidí regalia and is a particular focus of contemporary Huna ceremonial activities in the park today.
- **Mt. Fairweather** (*Tsalxaan, Ground Squirrel Land[?]*):⁸ This mountain and its environs are a sacred landscape to the T'akdeintaan Clan, based on extraordinary events connected with shamanic training and associated spiritual figures (e.g., Mount Fairweather Lady and Mount Fairweather Dog) associated with the mountain in Tlingit oral tradition. These events and figures are featured in T'akdeintaan sacred properties, such as regalia and songs.

Park staff has documented each of these potential Traditional Cultural Properties, and are now assembling documentation as well as preparing National Register nomination forms for each. Separate documentation of these TCPs will be available in this corpus of materials, and so the significance of each place is not documented extensively in the current report.

One additional place, the Marble Islands (*K'wát' Aaní, Land Belonging to the Seagull Eggs*), is of uncertain TCP status, but may yet be reconsidered as a “contributing resource” to a future TCP nomination. These islands are the principal places used by Huna for seagull egg gathering, as well as the continuation of cultural activities associated with this practice. South Marble Island, especially, is documented as a place of cultural significance, but all islands in this chain that are used for nesting by gulls are included in the traditional use area (Hunn et al. 2002).



Figure 4: An aerial view of Margerie Glacier, descending from Mt. Fairweather. Both the glacier and the mountain are of profound cultural significance to Huna Tlingit and have been identified as potential Traditional Cultural Properties. Photo courtesy NPS Alaska Region Office.

THE CULTURAL ROLE OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND RESOURCE HARVESTS

Culturally significant natural resources have always been part of the Huna relationship to Glacier Bay proper. For a number of contemporary Huna Tlingit, the harvest of these natural resources has been a primary impetus for visiting the Bay and the primary mode for engaging its landscapes and seascapes. Fishers, hunters, and gatherers continue to hold unique associations with, and knowledge of, landscapes within Glacier Bay. Moreover, many interviewees expressed concerns about the effects of cruise ships on culturally significant natural resources that have continued to be harvested into recent times. Thus, any discussion of the possible impacts of cruise ships is incomplete without some discussion of effects on these natural resources and their harvest. What follows here is a brief overview of these resources and their unique significance within the Huna community, in order to more effectively contextualize the discussion of impacts that will follow. A more detailed recounting of the natural resource traditions that persist in Glacier Bay proper can be found in Appendix 3 of this document.

Interviewees make it clear that continued access to, and use of natural resources is considered essential to the maintenance of cultural relationships with the land. For Huna Tlingit, it is important to continue visiting ancestral landscapes, including those within Glacier Bay to harvest resources, especially key cultural foods (e.g., berries, fish, shellfish, bird eggs, harbor seal, and mountain goat) in Glacier Bay. The natural food products acquired in this way are important to the economy, culture and society of Huna Tlingit, but the process itself – the various resource procurement activities – are said to sustain the community’s sense of identity, as well as its unique relationships to their traditional homeland (Hunn, et al 2003; Thornton 2008, 2010).

The traditional food value of Glacier Bay – both material and symbolic – should not be underestimated. Glacier Bay proper is commonly depicted as an “icebox,” “pantry,” or “breadbox,” of the Huna Tlingit due to its centrality and endurance within the food gathering traditions of the community. Not long ago, it was a source of plenty. According to Frank White, “It was our breadbox, you know. That’s where we got all our food off the land” (FW).⁹ Similarly, Frank O. Williams describes how a Huna elder relates Glacier Bay to a grocery store,

But what Glacier Bay meant to the Huna People...like they ask the elders...They said, ‘What does Glacier Bay mean to you?’ [One elder, they] used an interpreter for her, but she understood English pretty good. And she told us...‘What Glacier Bay means to me,’ she said, ‘you have Fred Meyer and Costco all those stores. We have Glacier Bay.’ So this is

a big food resource, not only fishing, but berry picking, seal hunting, shrimp, crab, halibut, salmon (FO).

In this way, Glacier Bay provided not only an abundance of natural resources, but also provided a source of needed resources during lean times, helping to reduce risk for the Tlingit people linked to the Bay.¹⁰ Some key cultural foods associated with Glacier Bay are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Food Resources Traditionally Gathered by Huna Tlingit in Glacier Bay

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
FISH						
Cod, black	Ishkeen	<i>Anoplopoma fimbria</i>	X	X	x	X
Cod, ling	X'áax'w	<i>Ophiodum elongatus</i>		X	x	
Cod, Pacific	S'áax'	<i>Gadus macrocephalus</i>	X		x	X
Halibut	Cháatl	<i>Hippoglossus stenolepis</i>	X	X	x	X
Red snapper	Léik'w	<i>Sebastes ruberrimus</i>	X	X	x	x
Salmon eggs	Kaháakw	All salmon species		X	x	
Salmon, chum	Téel'	<i>Oncorhynchus keta</i>		X	x	
Salmon, coho	L'ook	<i>Oncorhynchus kisutch</i>		X	x	
Salmon, king	T'á	<i>Oncorhynchus tshawytscha</i>	X	X	x	x
Salmon, pink	Cháas'	<i>Oncorhynchus gorbushka</i>		X		
Salmon, red	Gaat	<i>Oncorhynchus nerka</i>	X	X	x	
LAND MAMMALS						
Black bear	S'eeek	<i>Ursus americanus</i>	X		X	x
Brown bear	Xóots	<i>Ursus arctos</i>	X		X	x
Deer, Sitka Black Tail (transplanted)	Guwakaan	<i>Odocoileus hemionus sitkensis</i>		X	X	x
Mountain goat	Jánwu	<i>Oreamnos americanus</i>	X	X	x	X
Porcupine	Xhalak'ách'	<i>Erethizon dorsatum</i>	X	X	X	X
Squirrel, red	Tsálk	<i>Tamiasciurus hudsonicus</i>	X	X	X	X
Wolf	Gooch	<i>Canis lupus</i>	X		x	X
MARINE MAMMALS						
Seal, harbor	Tsaa	<i>Phoca vitulina</i>	X	x	X	x
Sea lion (whiskers, flipper)	Taan	<i>Eumetopias jubata</i>	X		X	x

BIRDS & EGGS						
Bird eggs (esp. gulls, but also goose, puffin, and oystercatcher)	K'wát'	esp. <i>Larus spp.</i>	X			
Ducks	Gáaxw	various	X		x	
Grouse, Spruce	Káax' (female), Núkt	<i>Canachites canadensis</i>	X	x	x	X
Ptarmigan, Willow	X'eis'awáa	<i>Lagopus lagopus</i>	X	x	x	X
INTERTIDAL RESOURCES						
Clams	<u>Gáal</u> (butter clams) :	<i>Saxidomus giganteus</i>) and various	X	x	X	X
Chitons (Gumboots)	Shaaw	<i>Katherina tunicata</i>	X	x	X	X
Crab, Dungeness	S'áaww	<i>Cancer magister</i>	X	x	X	X
Crab, King	X'éix	<i>Parlithodes camtschatica</i>	X	x	X	X
Mussels (Pacific)	Yaak	<i>Mytilus trossulus</i>	X	x	X	X
Sea ribbon	K'aach'	<i>Rhodomenia pacmata</i> (<i>Palmeria palmata</i>)	X			
Seaweed, black	Laak'ask	<i>Porphyra spp.</i>	X			
Shrimp	S'éex'át	<i>Pandalus spp.</i>	X	x	x	
TREES & SHRUBS						
Alder, beach or Sitka	Keishísh	<i>Alnus viridus</i> ssp. <i>sinuata</i>				
Hemlock (sap, bark, branches)	Yán (sáx = sap')	<i>Tsuga heterophylla</i>	X			
Willow	Ch'áal'	<i>Salix myrtillifolia</i>	X	X		
PLANTS & BERRIES						
Beach asparagus	Sukkaadzi	<i>Salicornia virginica</i>	X	X		
Chocolate lily (Indian rice)	Kóox	<i>Fritillaria camschatcensis</i>	X			
Devil's club	S'áxt'	<i>Oplopanax horridus</i>	x	x	x	X
Goose tongue	Suktéitl'	<i>Plantago maritime</i>	X			
Wild rhubarb	Tl'aak'wách'	<i>Polygonum alaskanum</i>	X	X		
Wild sweet potato (sweet vetch)	Tséit	<i>Hedysarum alpinum</i>	X	X		
Bearberries (a.k.a. Kinnikinnick)	Tínx	<i>Arctostaphylos uva- ursi</i>		X	x	
Currant, gray	Shaax	<i>Ribes bracteosum</i>		X	x	
Huckleberry, red	Tleikatánk	<i>Vaccinium parvifolium</i>		X		
Nagoonberry	Neigóon	<i>Rubus arcticus</i>		X		

Salmonberry	Was'x'aan tléigu	<i>Rubus spectabilis</i>		X		
Soapberry	Xákwł'i	<i>Shepherdia Canadensis</i>		X		
Strawberry	Shákw	<i>Fragaria chiloensis</i>		X		

X = primary season; x = secondary season.

Sources: Schroeder and Kookesh (1988); Thornton 2008, and interviews.

Other resources that might be added to this list, pending further interviewing with Huna representatives, include Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), from which Tlingits commonly gather sap, wood, bark, roots, and other materials, and into which they sometimes inscribed cultural markers, as well as a number of intertidal invertebrates (gumboot chiton, clams, crabs, mussels, and others), and a variety of plants and sea vegetables (including but not limited to those locally known as beach asparagus, goose tongue, Indian rhubarb, Devil's club, Chocolate lily (Indian Rice), wild sweet potato, and blueberry). Even mineral resources could be considered as potentially harvested natural resources in Glacier Bay proper – such as gold (*góon*), white flint (*néix'*), greenstone (*neixinté*), and isinglass (Jumbo James, pers. comm. to T. Thornton, 1994).

In the course of interviews for the current project, interviewees discussed a wide range of fish and land animals that their families have harvested at Glacier Bay, such as fish (such as King salmon, halibut, cod, eulachon, capelin), shellfish (especially King and Dungeness crab, shrimp, various clam species, cockles, mussels, gumboot chitons), berries (nagoon, soapberries, strawberries, huckleberries, blueberries and gray currants) seal, sea lion, seagull eggs, ptarmigan, mountain goats, groundhog, and various seaweeds. While this list is not exhaustive, it is meant to provide a sense of the significance that Glacier Bay fauna and flora hold in Tlingit life. Again, an overview of the full range of culturally significant resources reported to be harvested from Glacier Bay proper in the living memory of interviewees is included at the end of this document in Appendix 3: *Culturally Significant Natural Resources Harvested in Glacier Bay*.

These seasonal resource harvests, themselves, became valued cultural events, coordinating peoples' sense of time and place in relation to the annual cycle. They remained a cornerstone of community life until recent times. People often report that they were "raised in Glacier Bay" even if only in the course of personally significant seasonal visits. For Richard Dalton Jr, who did live there for big portions of his youth, he recalls that he and his family spent most of their time "fishing...and when we were not fishing we were putting up our food, gathering eggs, getting seal, making seal oil...picking berries...Oh, I used to look forward to going up there in the spring!" (RD).

There are a variety of reasons why Glacier Bay is still sought out as a harvesting location, even when similar resources may be nominally available in other parts of Huna territory. Many of these resources, such as mountain goat, bird eggs, nagoon



Figure 5: Glaucous-winged gulls and harbor seals at Glacier Bay. Both were important subsistence resources for Huna Tlingit, the gulls for their eggs which were harvested sustainably according to traditional protocols in late May and early June in the lower bay. Thomas F. Thornton photo.

berries, soapberries, and strawberries are not found in significant quantities in other parts of Huna territory, or may be more difficult (or even dangerous) to harvest elsewhere. Some of these resources, by contrast, abound in Glacier Bay proper due to the unique environments of the Bay, its microclimate, and its recent geological history. With a broad spectrum of successional environments, ranging from recently exposed granite to mature Sitka spruce forest, Glacier Bay presents a uniquely rich mosaic of habitats from which to gather these resources. The park might not intentionally manage lands and resources to enhance these harvestable resources, but there are various natural conditions that favor their abundance. Still, by virtue of its protective functions and mandates, NPS management has inadvertently helped to elevate the prominence of Glacier Bay relative to other portions of the Huna Tlingit territory, preserving many of these culturally significant resources within the park, even as those species have become less common or robust elsewhere.

Foods obtained in Glacier Bay clearly carry material, social, and spiritual significance to the Huna community into the present day that stands out from similar resources obtained in other locations. Resources harvested there are linked closely to the identity

of Tlingit people and are also sometimes described as being spiritually significant because of their origin in the Bay. For example, Veronica Dalton describes the significance of food, in this case nagoon berries, harvested in Glacier Bay and then shared throughout the Native community,

This last year we went up, my husband and I, and gosh we picked was – it four or five gallons of nagoon. And with the berries we made jelly, and I divided it amongst the Kaagwaantaans. They were having their *koo.éex'* and are my grandfather's people, so I gave five cases to one party and then five cases to the other, because they weren't at the same time...and I told them all the berries came from up inside the park there...so it's extra special when they find out it comes from there (VD).

When asked what makes food from Glacier Bay so special, Veronica Dalton responded, "It's from home" (VD). Gordon Greenwald makes a similar observation when referring to the harvesting of seal from Glacier Bay for ceremonial purposes, "it would make it special – even though, truly, in a blind test, none of us would be able to tell the difference in many cases. But it's a spiritual thing" (GG).¹¹

This prioritization of resources from within Glacier Bay is especially pronounced if the resources are harvested on an individual's ancestral grounds, where one is following the path and hunting in the hunting territories of one's ancestors.¹² Such resource procurement activities within Glacier Bay proper, linked especially to places from one's clan territory and the places described in clan narratives, are considered sacred and fundamental to Huna identity and persistence. As one Tlingit said of his ancestral landscapes in Glacier Bay:

This is how we have come to love our country the way our fathers and uncles did. We also felt that we were part of somebody and somebody special when our families took us on these trips [to Glacier Bay to harvest foods]. We were taught this is who we are and that this is how it's going to be...That's what ties us to our land. Our food that comes out of there is directly responsible for our strength, our knowledge, our inner peace, as compared to [food] that's outside of the traditional homeland...(quoted in Hunn, et al., 2003: S86).

The food species harvested in these areas are understood, in many cases, to be directly descended from the same populations that fed one's own ancestors in past times. Thus, the "value of such natural resource areas as a means of conserving physical, social, and Tlingit spiritual relations to country, can hardly be overemphasized" (Thornton 2010:114).

Concepts of “food” and “medicine” are not considered completely distinct. “Subsistence” ties to this landscape, then, are treasured for sustenance, but also support other types of wellbeing, such as reinforcing a person’s identity, sense of heritage, purity, and balance. Accordingly, resources taken inside the Bay, such as seal, often are considered to be more flavorful, “pure” or more spiritually significant than similar resources found outside of Glacier Bay. This is due to a variety of factors, such as the colder temperatures (which promote fat production in seal, for example) and unique ecological conditions of the glacial environs, the degrading industrial exploitation or pollution of areas outside of the park, historical and cultural associations with areas inside Glacier Bay, and perceived spiritual properties of lands and resources from within the Bay.

Due in no small part to these factors, the natural resources and waters found in Glacier Bay are sometimes depicted as simply being “cleaner” than their counterparts in other, less protected waters. There is evidence of the preferential use of materials gathered from the Bay for ceremonial use, in part because of their perceived “purity” in addition to their association with sacred sites and places of historical association with the larger Huna community, including matrilineal clan territories. Many interviewees commented on the purity and clarity of the environmental conditions within the Bay – the air, the water, and the living things; this purity is sometimes said to have energizing, rehabilitative, or transformative values for people who visit the place or use resources from it.¹³ This purity is sometimes described as having been respected, protected, or even enhanced through Tlingit cultural conventions and spiritual practices. As John Martin summarizes traditional Tlingit views, “Glacier Bay has the greatest purity anywhere in the world. Tlingit know how to take care of it...we made sure it was pure” (JM). Reflecting this perception, a few families gathered goat wool, where it has been shed on the branches of shrubs and trees within the park. Wool from less pristine environments arguably would be viewed as of lower physical and spiritual quality, if not “tainted,” and inappropriate for ritual and cultural uses by many traditional users.

In spite of Huna people having relocated to Hoonah and other communities in the wake of glaciation and federal land ownership, continued resource use facilitated deep personal and community associations that endured in spite of their exile. This was true even during times when resources were not being harvested. In Huna tradition, people need to visit regularly to assess the condition of resources to guide future hunting, fishing and gathering activities in the Bay. As Jeff Skaflestad recalls,

We need to get in here and do an inventory, see what’s in here...When I was a kid people were up here all the time and they’d come back and tell everybody what they saw...‘the berries are great’ or ‘you can’t believe the whales at Geike [Inlet]’...it was a total information download (JS).

In some respects, limits on Tlingit access to Glacier Bay resources during the period of NPS management may have made those resources even more coveted due to their rarity and their continued purity even as other areas are subject to more intensive forms of use and pollution. In the mid-20th century, Mary Rudolph recalls,

a couple of young guys came up to Glacier Bay and gathered just a couple of seagull eggs when it wasn't legal....my mother got one and she treated it just like gold, it was so important to her and so rare (MR).

Continued traditional resource harvesting gave many families a degree of self-sufficiency and cohesion that they sometimes found hard to maintain otherwise in the modern world. Melvin Williams describes how his family was dependent upon fishing in Glacier Bay for survival, for example, but the experience also provided his family with an opportunity to enjoy time together, combine work with play, and put ample food on the table:

Seven girls, five boys, and being there was no social program back then, no Welfare or whatever, we learned to fish with our dad at a young age, he taught us. And it was a means of survival. But in a way, it was fun. It was fun (MW).

Some natural resource gathering (e.g., berries, fish, shellfish, and mountain goat wool), including gathering for food and social purposes, for materials used in traditional crafts, and for use in ceremonial activities still occur within the park. (Interviewees note that mountain goat are traditionally understood to have linkages to wellsprings of spiritual power associated with the sky and elevated places—their wool being used in ceremonial applications in ways that reflect that association [JS, RD]). For a time these resource harvest activities have been carried out under Park sponsorship, but the NPS and the HIA are now shifting responsibility for some of the logistical support of these activities back to Huna. Recent developments, such as NPS's determination that gull egg harvest could occur without impacting park resources and associated Congressional legislation authorizing such harvest—following ethnographic and biological studies and a federal legislative Environmental Impact Statement—illustrates progress towards retaining and revitalizing important traditions. Park involvement has clearly fostered the continuation of these traditions, even if it might contribute to changes in the timing and manner of their expression.

The Interdependence of the Huna and Natural Resources in Glacier Bay

The Tlingit have not only occupied Glacier Bay for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, they have actively engaged with the landscape through that time and have often been integral to ecological processes within the Bay. Tom Abel explains this widespread sentiment; “We are the ecosystem...I learned in my life, by just sitting out there. You need to sit out there and watch stuff. If you just sit out there and watch stuff, you learn things” (TA). Despite the close relationship that the Tlingit have with Glacier Bay, the National Park Service has sometimes sought to regulate all human use—including Tlingit use—in an effort to preserve what is understood to be the natural condition of the Bay. Many Tlingit contend that their ancestors were ecological stewards in their own right, creating and maintaining habitat conditions for key species abundance and sustainment (Thornton, Deur and Kitka 2015), and that traditional resource harvesting can and should play a role in ecosystem maintenance and conservation. According to James Jack,

Our people have lived there for thousands of years. We should have that right [to harvest and manage resources]. You know, and our people were stewards of this place for 10,000 years without violating, without depleting any resource at all, you know, any of the natural resources. None of them were even in danger of being depleted (JJ).

Likewise, Jack Lee notes, “They’ll say it’s endangered...when we took care of it, we never took more than we needed” (JL).

Tlingit subsistence hunters and gatherers, interviewees contend, are acutely aware of the interdependency of environmental elements of which they are active participants. As such, they’ve developed traditional ecological knowledge and conservative harvest methods to foster the long-term integrity of the natural resources on which they depend. By their accounts, these conservative practices developed as a means to both respect these resources and to protect the productivity of these resources for Tlingit consumption. In turn, they suggest, animal populations, such as salmon, seagulls, seals, sea lions and many shellfish species, have come to partially depend upon traditional Tlingit harvest methods to remain healthy—or, at least, to reach some sort of population equilibrium—creating an ecological balance that some say has suffered with a reduction in resource harvests within Glacier Bay.

According to traditional Tlingit cosmology, all living things are considered to possess a spirit, and conservation practices are a means to express respect for the spirit and sentience of all harvested resources. Dennis Gray describes this philosophy:

In our culture we were taught that we are the stewards of our land, and we don't abuse our land. I mean, we [are] very respectful, because the land is our provider, the sea. We get all our food from it, the waters of Glacier Bay, and we hold it in very high regard. And none of us has ever abused that because of that. We're taught from a very early age. We carry that even up with our deer hunting and our fishing, even if it's not in that bay, we still practice that. You know, we don't take any more than we can use, you know (DG).

James Jack, Sr. also notes the importance of this cosmological principle in guiding conservative harvesting methods, which still sometimes guide such practices such as seal hunting:

And so, our people believe that everything that lives possess[es] a spirit, and we pass that on in our presentation. For example, you talk about taking of the seal. We don't actually have a ceremony that gives us forgiveness, but we use every bit of the seal, use the skin, use the stomach for fishing line, and use the intestines for food, and flippers are for food, the skin obviously for clothing, and you know, those types of things (JJ).

Melvin Williams further explains the practice of limiting waste in seal hunting, specifically regarding how many seals he would take while hunting on Drake Island, "The tide is only visible at low tide, and outgoing tide, so we'd sit on a rock and wait for a seal to pop up. They come up all around there. I never remember getting more than two. You only take...what you can handle" (MW). These practices at times fell by the wayside during periods of government bounties or commercial harvests, which prompted large-scale hunting of seals; witnessed by some NPS staff in the 1960s, these hunts shaped park policy and relationships with Huna Tlingit in complex ways. More recent citations of Huna seal hunters have brought palpable strain on Huna-Park relations, including the 1992 case of a seal shot by Greg Brown in the Bay for a memorial party (potlatch) in Hoonah, but confiscated by Park enforcement officials before it could be used (Catton 1995). At a 1997 meeting at Bartlett Cove to discuss traditional knowledge sharing with NPS, Huna leaders made clear their dissatisfaction with park policies outlawing the taking of gull eggs and seal for subsistence and ceremonial purposes, and their desire to work with the park on traditional knowledge documentation to show that these activities, when carried out according to customary rules, are both culturally enriching and sustainable. Thus, these traditional values, dating from a time long before commercial and bounty hunting, are held up by elders as examples of how Tlingit hunting was organized historically and how it should continue to be organized into the future.

As part of these traditions, there are also traditional admonitions to use all of an animal and to leave no waste behind. Veronica Dalton made it a point to teach her children traditional harvest methods that produced little or no waste,

My husband, my father-in-law, Richard Dalton, Sr., would talk to them [our children], and my mom talked to them from when they were little...we constantly remind them, 'Don't forget,' you know. 'Respect whatever food we get. Don't make fun of anything that's been worked on' ...we've seen some kids when they were [working] on seal, going, 'Ewww,' and all that. You know, and we're like, 'No...we're respecting, we're not wasting anything' ...we don't take more than we need. We just take [until] we figure we've got enough and, you know, give thanks for allowing us to take what we have taken and trying not to disturb anything. You know, we want it to be there the next time we come back (VD).

Frank O. Williams, Jr. concurs with this interpretation of Tlingit protocols. As he notes of seal hunting traditions, "We don't waste a thing. Even the stomach used to be made into a ball or a buoy" (FO).

Similarly, there is significant documentation of conservation practices having been employed over many generations in the practice of seagull egg gathering (Hunn et al. 2002; 2003). Veronica Dalton describes rules regarding the harvesting of seagull eggs, which manifest concepts of interspecific respect while also guarding against resource depletion: "our people would go up and pick, and there was rules...if there's three eggs in there [the nest], if there was two, you know, you take two – you went with the one with the three, and you leave one egg" (VD). Interviewees, such as Al Martin, suggested outlined these Tlingit guidelines: "We only picked...a nest that had two eggs and [if] there were one egg. We didn't bother the ones that had three eggs or four eggs. That's the Native way of doing things. You took two or one egg" (AM). While specific conventions may have varied between families and individuals, the fundamental concepts of foregoing egg harvests to ensure continuity of the gull population is nearly universal. Gull egg harvesting, meanwhile, is understood to keep the gull populations at a steady and sustainable level. Interviewees tend to agree that the modern absence of active gull egg harvests must affect gull populations, though opinions vary within the community as to how and to what extent this is so.¹⁴

Many interviewees also suggested that prohibitions on hunting in the park have impacted the health and sustainability of marine mammals. As a result, they note what appear to be rapidly growing sea lion and sea otter populations, which they suggest has had a number of cascading environmental effects.¹⁵

Similarly, fish species, such as salmon, are said to depend upon Tlingit harvesting methods to stay healthy. Frank White refers to dog salmon populations in a place in Excursion Inlet,

Dog salmon are almost two feet high [dying] on the beach, and yet they wouldn't open [a fishing season]. They [the State of Alaska] wouldn't open for fall fishing...the river was overstocked; they were just killing each other off. Not enough oxygen for them. To this day they don't open it. There's hardly any dog salmons up there (FW).

Tlingit oral tradition suggests that dog salmon and other fish species experienced increased mortality and decreased fecundity in the absence of Tlingit subsistence practices. Frank White goes on to explain this ecological relationship in reference to halibut,

My grandfather and my old uncle, oldest one, Willie Ross, told me, 'It's going to deplete itself if we don't go up there and get it.' He says, 'The way they talk, it's got a spirit. All animals, they got a spirit.' We were pretty close with the animals because...we live off of them. The spirit world will say, 'Well, maybe we don't come back. They don't need us anymore.' Fish is like that too (FW).

If the landscape and its resources are used, and used respectfully, interviewees often contend, Glacier Bay will continue to be resource-rich, well-balanced, and maintain the health and purity that define this unique place.

RESPECT AND DISRESPECT, HOSTS AND GUESTS

According to our research, the Huna community views the concept of “respect” as being critical for the appropriate use, management, and visitation of Glacier Bay, including Traditional Cultural Properties; its antithesis, disrespect in its various manifestations, is the source of many concerns regarding park management. As a Tlingit cultural concept, “respect” — *Ya.aa.unei* in Tlingit — has many facets: there is respect for what is perceived as the intrinsic power and significance of these places and their resources, for example, or respect for the depth and profundity of Tlingit historical ties to these landmarks.¹⁶ These concerns are particularly marked and strong in landscapes associated with sacred ancestral territories to which descendants feel strong attachment, belonging, and stewardship responsibility.

“Respect” is a foundational concept in Tlingit cultural life, in fact, and shapes social customs, Tlingit law and order, food gathering practices and rituals, and Tlingit oratory and greetings. The formalized display of respect between groups shapes Tlingit ceremonial protocol (e.g., one moiety hosts events, such as a memorial party or potlatch, for guests of the other moiety). This concept also shapes the traditional organization of land and resource tenure (e.g., one clan or house group within the moiety has tenure and has the discretion to invite the other to partake of its lands), as well as shaping relationships between any “guests” visiting a Tlingit community’s territory and their “hosts” in that community. There are also modern-day practices of demonstrating ritualized respect for places of cultural importance, including ceremonial activities that are understood to be “expected” by the landscape and are viewed as critical to the wellbeing of landscapes themselves.

A fuller understanding of these concepts of “respect” and “disrespect,” including their many dimensions and implications, is essential to understanding Huna responses to cruise ships in Glacier Bay, and in future planning for Traditional Cultural Properties. “Respect” and “disrespect” are described by some Huna individuals as if they have a tangible quality and implications that extend well beyond the conventional Euro-American understandings of these terms. In Tlingit tradition, if formal respects are not shown to the land and its resources, the lands and its resources may suffer, may cease being productive, or may even retaliate in unpredictable and potentially hazardous ways.

Demonstrations of respect, and careful avoidance of displays of disrespect, are depicted by most Tlingit descendants of Glacier Bay villages as being essential to maintaining positive reciprocal relationships between what might be termed the spiritual forces embedded in the landscape (its flora, its fauna, and its human occupants) and visitors. For example, a place or plant community, traditionally used for healing, that has been “disrespected” too frequently or severely by its human

visitors may lose its potential (or will) to aid in the healing of any individual who might follow, even if those who follow are individually blameless. Accordingly, Huna returning to Glacier Bay expend considerable efforts attempting to demonstrate their respect to the landscape, in order to insure the maintenance of a positive relationship with the place and the powers that reside there – commonly engaging in ceremonies as they enter Glacier Bay proper as part of a larger effort to demonstrate their respect.

In light of the potentials and dangers of places of spiritual significance within Glacier Bay, Tlingit people continue the tradition of seeking to demonstrate respect towards places such as the glaciers. Wanda Culp describes modern protocols when approaching a naturally calving glacier:

There was some calving on the glacier, and it fell down, and some of the kids went, 'Whoo,' you know, and raised their voices, and Jenny Lindoff scolded them, said, 'Don't do that. Don't raise your voice' ...the first time I went up on a catamaran, and the elders were on the boat, and we got in front of Margerie Glacier...on the west side, those two. And the elder women went up on the bow, and then the glacier cracked, and they went, 'Ah! She's talking to us. Kaasteen is talking to us.' And when the glacier calves, we see the glacier as a woman, as a spirit, as a person, and when the glacier calves, she's giving birth. This is how we see her action. And so, Jenny, to correct them, is saying that someone is talking. You don't behave that way (WC).

Traditionally, then, respect has been applied to the spiritual forces or essences of many natural things: whales, glaciers, fish, and so forth – in a manner that often resembled the kinds of respect shown to people of high standing. Hunting protocols, for example, demand that respect be shown to prey animals – especially common at Glacier Bay, and transmitted from old to young members of the community there. Even inadvertent disturbances to game by contemporary park visitors are seen as disruptive to the interspecific balance maintained by those conventions. If a person chases animal harassingly, for example, it is traditionally said that this constitutes disrespect, and this can bring misfortune and even death to the person doing the harassing (de Laguna 1972). This can also, in turn, cause the people who arrive there subsequently to bear some of the consequences of the mistreatment of game, being unable to successfully hunt, being endangered by animals such as bears that will reciprocate this “disrespect,” and so forth. Accordingly, Frank Wright describes how the “communication” between the Tlingit and the animals in Glacier Bay, has been lost because of park visitors having unbalanced relationships with bears in particular:

We couldn't go back up there unless we had a big rifle, because the tourists...the people, they know they're not going to kill that bear, but

they shoot with little .22s or whatever. Now we can't really communicate with him, because when he sees us, he sees the same thing as the people in the boat. So we lost some communication (FR).

Huna interviewees for the current project often suggested all manner of emergency situations witnessed in Glacier Bay – such as animal attacks, collisions with ice, and others – resulting from reckless and disrespectful behavior by the people who were harmed or those who had preceded them. George Dalton, Jr., for example, recalled one of many Huna stories relating this theme:

There was a man who got stuck in Glacier Bay. He got stuck on the ice, on one of the icebergs...we always thought that that happened to him because he laughed at the glacier...he didn't have that respect...he floated up there for two, three days before they found him...You had to be careful, They always told me respect [the glacier] like anything else. You never laugh at anything like that. You had to be quiet and...not noisy...If you were disrespectful there, bad things would happen (GD).

Similarly, Ernie Hillman reports of Tlingit traditions relating to Glacier Bay:

We were told to go in there with a positive attitude. You have to show that respect as you go into your homeland...you have to go in there in the right way. If you don't, you won't be long in this world (EH).

These dangers were said to be especially pronounced in places of enduring religious and cultural significance – being especially concentrated around the proposed Traditional Cultural Properties. This is because the presence of cruise ships, or indeed any form of tourism, brings with it the potential for expression of respect or disrespect – toward people, the land, and all the beings and forces that dwell there. Demonstrations of respect or disrespect by cruise ship visitors are seen as having the potential to affect Huna relationships with Glacier Bay at a very deep and fundamental level.

“Disrespectful” behavior seems to be conceived as a type of pollutant in its own right. Thus, while pollution from cruise ships may be a manifestation of “disrespect,” for example, the presence of numerous cruise ship visitors who exhibit forms of disrespect (littering, or even exhibiting disinterest in the landscape) may be seen as a type of “pollution” that has enduring effects on human relationships with the landscape more generally. Again, the implications of these general concepts of “respect” and “disrespect” are complex, yet highly significant in understanding Huna relationships

with Traditional Cultural Properties or their responses to cruise ship traffic in Glacier Bay today.

As will be illuminated in later sections of this document, cruise ships can affect these interactions not only through their presence and material effects (such as visual effects, noise, or air pollution), which are often seen as manifestations of “disrespect,” but also in intangible terms – such as how cruise ship passengers regard the landscape, or how the Native history is represented in the literature and oral presentations aboard ships. We contend that most of these impacts intersect with traditional notions of “respect” in some manner, and the disruption of the traditional role of Huna Tlingit as “hosts” who regulate and mediate this respect. In this light, public interpretation, addressing cultural ties to the landscape of GBP, and guided by the voice of the Huna as “hosts” to cruise ship “guests” was often mentioned as a promising mechanism for facilitating respectful attitudes and activities. Tourists see the landscape, but their orientation to that landscape “should reflect the [cultural] history,” one consultant stated (TA). When it does not, it can be an insult to the values inherent in these cultural properties, which is believed to have a variety of adverse consequences for the land and the Tlingit people who are uniquely connected to it. As such, interpretation brings the potential to minimize and mitigate the adverse effects of cruise ship traffic in a variety of ways – ways, in fact, that might address many Huna cultural concerns in future planning efforts relating to TCPs at Glacier Bay. As the traditional “hosts” of Glacier Bay, many feel that the Huna have a responsibility to help build visitors’ empathetic understanding of this place through active participation in the interpretive process: “We want them to experience a human connection to the place...give people a stronger sense of place...through first person accounts” (AN). The theme of interpretation, and its value in minimizing and mitigating adverse cruise ship effects, will be given much more detailed consideration in the pages that follow.

To understand the importance of interpretation as a way of conveying Tlingit cultural perspectives, it is important to briefly consider the intersection of clan affiliation, *at.óow*, and respect. As James Jack describes the concept of *at.óow* (or *at.óowu*), it centers on the respect people pay to the land, resources, and other property of others – the clan, the family, and the individual:

I think the biggest [thing about Glacier Bay] to let our visitors know is that our Tlingit Nation is built on *at.óowu*, means ‘respect each other, each man’ you know. So, with respect to their lands, you know, every Tlingit knows what land belonged to the Kaagwaantaan, what land belonged to the Chookaneidí, what land belonged to the T’akdeintaan, and it was always respected. If you come to another clan’s land, you ask permission to come to shore. You don’t just go to shore. You have to ask permission to come to shore (JJ).

In this way, *at.óowu* both reaffirms clan social structure and clan ownership of land throughout the Bay, and becomes manifest through practices such as asking permission to enter another clan's land.¹⁷ Huna ties to particular TCPs are seen by many interviewees as reflecting this type of property right, which must be respected by the NPS, cruise ship operators, and park visitors alike. The designation of a TCP helps reaffirm this connection. Management that reflects Tlingit values might do so too.

However, it may always prove difficult to fully address and respect *at.óowu* rights and prerogatives as long as Glacier Bay remains part of a national park; within this context, Tlingit seek to recapture some of their roles as "host" in this landscape, but remain in many ways "guests" of the National Park Service. As recognized "Hosts" Tlingits would undoubtedly feel more entitled to educate visitors, including those arriving on cruise ships, on how to respect both the tangible and intangible elements of their cultural lands, history, and resources in Glacier Bay. This is a core principle, especially for clan leaders and elders interviewed for this report. Respect is not merely a principle, however, but an issue of personal safety and environmental security, as violations of important protocols, such as talking to glaciers or harassing wildlife, are traditionally believed to have led to environmental cataclysms or other extreme events in the past (e.g., the advancement of the glacier as a result of Kaasteen's transgression; see Thornton 2008). Conversely, following proper protocols and respecting the land, its indigenous inhabitants, and its history can bring about "peak" experiences for visitors, like those of John Muir himself, which go beyond the aesthetics of wilderness to the integration of themselves as part of long history of journeying to Glacier Bay under Tlingit guidance.

Considerable efforts by park staff in recent years to facilitate Huna access to the park through such activities as annual boat trips has ameliorated these concerns somewhat, but some Tlingits interviewed still resent the fact that the Park Service are now the "hosts" and they are the "guests." This is seen as a reversal of the traditional order wherein local owners and stewards of land were responsible for "hosting" visitors and insuring they had a safe journey on their ancestral territories (and indeed might incur liability if they did not). Hosts were respected for their generosity, local knowledge, and hospitality in providing for visitors' needs during stays within their territory. Historically, failure to seek local "guides" for travel through "owned" territory might inspire reprisal from its Tlingit owners, as was evident during the "Packer Wars" over rights to guide gold seekers over the Chilkoot Trail during the Klondike Gold Rush of the late nineteenth century (cf. Krauss 1956; Thornton 2003). As interviewees often noted, John Muir had Tlingit guides on all his visits to Glacier Bay.

The Huna Tlingit have repeatedly taken steps to attempt to "correct" this inversion of their traditional role as host within Glacier Bay. An emblematic example was the 1992 Memorial Day Peaceful Demonstration gathering at Bartlett Cove, in which clan

leaders came over in fishing boats (captained by respected leaders some of whom had ongoing commercial fishing ties to the Bay). These elders spoke of their ancestors and their historical relationships to the Bay in the idiom of love and mutual respect, and Native foods were served. For many, this event served as a kind of “symbolic reoccupation,” allowing Huna people to reassert ties to the land as original owners, and to serve as gatekeepers, hosts, and interpreters of the cultural landscape in the absence of any formal control over the park lands and resources. Such ceremonies not only have political value as statements of self-determination and territorial sovereignty, but in the view of many Huna Tlingit, also are requisite to the survival and revitalization of cultural values associated with Tlingit history and dwelling in Glacier Bay, especially those relating to traditional claims and prerogatives on this cornerstone of their traditional homeland.

In light of their historical, cultural, and spiritual associations with Glacier Bay and the obligations for “respect,” many Tlingit people are deeply invested in the care and management of not only the land, but also the people who visit. This sense of responsibility, to care for those who enter Tlingit territory, is ingrained in the culture, and this is evident in oral tradition. Interviewees note that, traditionally, visitors were held accountable for upsetting the material or spiritual balances maintained in a sacred place such as Glacier Bay, just as Tlingit hosts might traditionally be held liable for visitors’ safety (Thornton 2003). If visitors upset the relationship between resident people, the animals, natural processes, or spiritual forces of a place, the residents are traditionally understood to bear the ill effects.¹⁸ Visitors are traditionally welcomed, and even cherished as a source of companionship, goods, and ideas, but their behavior was also monitored for transgressions that might upset the order of local life. Tlingits welcomed visitors, they note, but only within clearly defined norms: “Tlingit people were always curious about visitors...they welcomed them [but] if they misbehaved they could be enslaved” (MR). To avoid this fate, visitors had to follow certain key protocols that are still said to be relevant today: “leave it like you find it...come with respect...never take anything without permission” (EH). These values have diminished somewhat over time, but still resonate in various ways within modern Tlingit communities.

The Tlingit have been host to numerous visitors within their homeland over time, and they continue to look after and assist visitors and tourists that visit Glacier Bay today.¹⁹ Tlingit people feel responsibility for the wellbeing of visitors, and may rescue visitors in peril, even at risk to their own personal safety – rescuing people from unsafe waters or warning them of bear dangers, for example. Bob Loescher describes how he’s had to rescue kayakers while fishing in the Bay:

We had to rescue them, because the bears would be after them, and we’d be up early in the morning, like two or three in the morning. In Glacier

Bay it's daylight, and we'd be cruising shores, and all the sudden I'd see a big ol' brown bear going down the shore toward these little tents...and then these people didn't have food, you know, these kayak people (BL).²⁰

This sense of obligation appears to be somewhat amplified when a Tlingit person is traveling in their clan homeland territory, where there is some enduring sense of being a “host” and some notion that negative outcomes (such as bears becoming habituated to human presence) may have enduring adverse effects to the Tlingit people who will be



Figure 6: Huna Tlingit aboard the Glacier Bay day tour boat, including Howard Gray, Richard Dalton, and George Dalton Jr., offer songs of welcome to kayakers disembarking on the shoreline of Glacier Bay proper. Many Huna who travel in Glacier Bay express an eagerness to greet, instruct, and look after visitors—maintaining their traditional roles as “host” within their homeland. Douglas Deur photo.

there into the foreseeable future. Again, the obligation to maintain “respectful” relationships with the landscape and all its denizens makes this an especially urgent calling. Thus, as Carol Williams summarizes Tlingit views on the subject, it is culturally mandated that, even among hosts and their guests, “we take care of each other” (CW).²¹

GLACIER BAY AS REFUGE, ANCHOR, AND SAFE HAVEN

For some Tlingit interviewees, Glacier Bay is depicted as a spiritual or sacred realm, a shrine, refuge, or safe haven where there is a sense of purity and hallowedness, of calm and silence. Its sacred context means that tolerance for “profane” behavior by visitors is limited, and expectations for heightened respect are in force.

In addition to being the focal point of a number of cultural and historical activities for Huna Tlingits, Glacier Bay is widely characterized as a “refuge.” This concept of “refuge” has both material as well as spiritual significance. One word for refuge in Tlingit is *yakwdeiyí*, or “canoe road” (AM), and another is *noow*, or “fort,” or “shelter,” both of which are referenced in Tlingit place names for sites in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve. *Yakwdeiyí* is a place where one can seek refuge from rough waters and land a boat safely — one of several reasons why this Glacier Bay site was such an important place for settlement and subsistence activities historically. Similarly, animals including birds, fish, and mammals seek refuge in Glacier Bay from the exposed waters of Icy Strait and Cross Sound. Sea birds nest and congregate there, and marine mammals and fish seek respite from the severe tidal currents of the outer waters. The Bay’s special status is further defined by its unique microclimates, which include localized winds and uplift (guided by Mount Fairweather) that help to purify the air, land, and water (AM). The berries are said to be juicier, the seals fatter, the king salmon larger, and the meat and hair of the goat heartier. As a refuge for fish and wildlife, Glacier Bay is perceived as a place of abundance, where game species have been harvested in predictably high and stable quantities. Arguably, some Huna today see Glacier Bay as a sort of “refuge” from the adverse effects of modern life and industrialization, where people can still find quiet and see the landscape somewhat as the ancestors saw it before them.

Simultaneously, Glacier Bay is the spiritual “anchor” for the people, a place where one can be in the presence and embrace of one’s ancestors. As long as respectful protocols are maintained, it is a land of security and plenty. It is a place where prayers may be said and blessings sought upon entry. It is, in short, “special.” Among the Huna Tlingit, and other Tlingit communities, there is a sturdy reverence for the Bay’s unique purity and plenty.

Beyond purity and plenty, Glacier Bay’s longstanding status as a homeland and “original place” of settlement for major contemporary Huna clans, gives it further weight as an “anchor” in the sense that it is the geographical locus in the preservation and perpetuation of cultural knowledge. Young and old have often gone to Glacier Bay together, imparting knowledge and skills between the generations. Recognizing

both the cultural centrality of Glacier Bay and the need to pass knowledge of the Bay on to future generations if this cultural significance is to persist, nearly all individuals interviewed for this study stressed the importance of getting young people back on the land. Such efforts serve as a means of reducing alienation, in its myriad forms, and reconnecting youth to their cultural heritage in Glacier Bay. The Park has obliged by supporting educational trips up the Bay and also facilitating food gathering activities, such as berry picking and beach food harvests. These trips and experiences on the land, particularly when guided by elders, give a strong sense of connection and resonance with ancestors, clan histories, and traditional lifeways.

On a similar trajectory, other Huna interviewees have alluded to Glacier Bay as a “safe haven.” The Bay is understood to be a “safe haven” not only for people traveling through the Huna world, but for Huna people whose lives may sometimes be turbulent. On this point, Al Martin suggests that “if there’s trouble here [in Hoonah], and you go around here, you enter a new spiritual realm which is really calm.” Wanda Culp too describes it as a safe haven, where Huna Tlingit feel secure, grounded, and reconnected with their fundamental identity: “[it’s] a sacred place...It was really...important to all of us Tlingit people, that we know who we are, our Tlingit names and where we come from. So Glacier Bay was always a special place” (WC).

As discussed in the pages that follow, these concepts of sacredness, anchor, and refuge or safe haven in turn inform ceremonial behavior and traditions carried out in the Bay.

ENDURING CEREMONIAL TRADITIONS IN GLACIER BAY PROPER

For some Tlingit interviewees, Glacier Bay is understood as a potent spiritual place, where spiritual forces large and small are manifest and may be engaged as part of a person's ceremonial life. The belief in the spirit of all living things is a fundamental element of Tlingit life. This perspective dictates the ceremonies the people perform and the methods with which they harvest the resources from the Bay. Interviewees note that Tlingit people have often conducted ceremonies to express thankfulness and to show respect for the living spirits that are taken as part of the harvest process. Ceremonies must be performed and respect must be given not only to animals, but to plants, which the Tlingit also recognize as having living spirits. James Jack notes that these ceremonial practices are employed inside and outside of Glacier Bay:

We stress that the Tlingits had respect for every living thing, every living thing. For example, when this building [Huna Totem Corporation headquarters] was going to be built, they had to take some trees down from here. So we had to have a ceremony with some of the tribal leaders, the clan leaders. They came out, and they asked the tree for forgiveness and told them that we were taking them to better our lives, you know...anything that has a life has a spirit (JJ).

Frank O. Williams, Jr. describes what may happen if one fails to recognize the fallen spirits of the forest when harvesting trees for use in houses, such as the Tribal House being constructed in Bartlett Cove today:

The Tlingit people believe that everything [is a] living thing. Just like when we build a house, people call it 'dedication,' but to us it is making peace with the forest people, because we cut down a whole bunch of trees to build a house...so we want to make peace with them. Get this big mark with ... paint or whatever, and put the mark up on the corner where the sun rise[s]. Some do it on all four corners...as long as that mark was up in that corner, we're at peace with the forest people. If we don't have peace with the forest people, we might have somebody go berry picking, hunting, whatever, you never know what happened to them. The guy never returns (FO).



Figure 7: Mary Rudolph and Lillian Hillman perform a ceremony at Margerie Glacier for the ancestral spirits of those who died when the Glacier advanced during the Little Ice Age, which are believed to dwell there still. Tlingits of the Chookaneidí clan generally feel obligated to perform such ceremonies when engaging these sacred landscapes as means of showing respect for the glacier and their ancestors, and for assuring their own security and wellbeing in the Bay. Thomas F. Thornton photo.

Ceremonies, such as those described above, were also traditionally employed as a mechanism for expressing thanks for trees felled for totem poles. Melvin Williams reports that his father was a carver, and he once accompanied him on a trip to Bear Track Cove, to cut down a tree that was to become a totem pole,

I was with them. Going to Bear Track, and they're all singing all these Tlingit songs that related to Glacier Bay. Go ashore and somebody was up there...already and had already picked a tree that would be suitable for the totem...that had to be made. And so a ceremony, a ceremony in Tlingit culture was performed. And being a kid, I wasn't really caught

up on everything that was going on at that time, but later on I learned that the ceremony was for that tree. This tree was going to surrender itself to something that we needed, but we did it with respect. We did it with proper, all cultural...Everything in Glacier Bay was precious (MW).

While Tlingit people carry out a variety of ceremonial traditions within Glacier Bay relating to the procurement of natural resources, most contemporary ceremonies serve a function of reaffirming a spiritual relationship of respect and reverence with the ancestors that remain there in body and in spirit. Interviewees note that they feel their ancestors watching them while they travel in Glacier Bay – that these ancestors are present and monitor peoples' behavior today for its coherences with traditional protocols. Ken Grant expresses a related sentiment, saying, "The voices of our ancestors are still ringing, echoing through the mountains when the wave came down. And I could feel it when I went in there. I could feel that powerful presence there" (KG). Interviewees also note that their ancestors' physical remains are present there – buried or cremated, they are in the very soil of Glacier Bay. As John Martin, Sr. notes,

"The Tlingit used to cremate...it was the cleanest way to dispose of the dead. It helped maintain this purity...Elders explained that "in life we take from the land so now we give back to it"...that happened in Glacier Bay" (JM).

Many other Tlingit interviewees echoed this sentiment, noting that the landscape is sacred and that it provides a unique connection to the Huna's shared past and the spirits of their ancestors. Johan Dybdahl elaborates,

It is very spiritual, especially when you get way up there past Composite Island and up to Russell Island...when I was on anchor and stuff, I'd used to get these dreams. I'd been dreaming about people that have either died recently or whatever, you know. It felt sort of like it was a spirit area (JD).

Many interviewees describe such a spiritual "presence" within the Bay, both in dreams and while awake. Related spiritual processes and powers were said to have been engaged and sometimes harnessed by Huna ancestors. Thus, there are traditions of shamanic training associated with landmarks in Glacier Bay – Mount Fairweather being especially linked to this spiritual tradition. Even for those individuals who could not visit this imposing peak, the view of the peak was linked to shamanic training and healing, allowing people to access the spiritual properties of the place at a distance.

When people go back to Glacier Bay, then, it is understood that some go back to revisit their ancestors – not only in a spiritual sense, but perhaps also in a material one. Thus, as Frank White explains, “my grandfather, sometimes he’d chant. You know, talk to the people that died there, all those people. He said their spirit is still around here” (FW). Also, Huna still sometimes observe Tlingit traditions of evoking the ancestors in a chant or song, and giving thanks to the ancestors by offering tobacco or food items which are placed in the water. Gordon Greenwald explains the significance of the offering: “you know, we’re not going to see them eat it. But it’s spiritual” (GG). Ernie Hillman further explains that the tradition of speaking to ancestors is observed upon exiting the Bay:

when we come out of there with some stuff, you know, we thank them as we’re leaving. I had good fishing or good hunting in there. Go home happy (EH).

By observing these protocols, one bonds with the ancestors, pleases them, and perhaps gains some degree of favor or protection while traveling this part of their homeland – largely unpopulated now, except for the spirits of the ancestors. Illustrating this point, Ernie Hillman describes a time when he was fishing in Glacier Bay in Reid Inlet. It had snowed during the night, and he awoke to eight inches of snow and his boat frozen in the ice,

So I talked to the old folks [i.e., ancestors] there, told them you know, ‘I’m just trying to catch some fish to make some extra money. I hope I’m not stuck here too long. I hope I didn’t offend anybody.’ And I went inside there and my engine’s running, but I figured I’d make a pot of coffee there you know, see what’s happening...I came out on the deck...taking my coffee, sipping it. When I lifted up and was looking, by that time it was getting daylight, and I was looking on the beach there. It looked like the beach was moving by me. I looked around. Nothing’s changed where I’m at, it’s still heavy snow all around where I was, but I was moving down the Bay like. And so the ‘whatever’ moved me out of there (EH).

Other interviewees note that communication with the ancestors is a vivid possibility in Glacier Bay, and that their assistance may be sought in times of trouble. Jean Lampe shares an account surprisingly similar to that of Ernie Hillman on this point:

There was a time when Uncle Jim was up there on the Key City [a boat], I don’t know what they were doing, if they were getting seal, but he got frozen in. And so he went out...he was talking to the ice around him and

the glacier, and he turned to the main glacier, and he was talking to his Auntie. He said, 'I just came up here to get a little bit for my family and didn't mean to do any harm.' He doesn't know why he was stuck there. And while he was talking, he put the snuff in the water, and it broke open like that and he drifted out. He didn't turn his boat out, it just like it pushed him out to where there was just broken icebergs and he was able to get home (JL).

Related somewhat to ceremonial observations relating to the ancestors, there are specific ceremonial protocols for the mourning songs that are performed when an elder passes. Alice Haldane briefly describes what is referred to as the Takdeintaan women's seagull cry,

We're Kittiwake...my mother...she said that when you go out there by the rookery [Gaanaxáa, on the outer coast of Glacier Bay at Boussole Head], you know, just tell them your Tlingit name...all of them [seagulls] will take off. They go flying around saying your name...Sometimes it's a happy cry. Sometimes it's to say goodbye to another seagull [T'akdeintaan person who died], you know....but we had a lot of our elders that are leaving right now (AH).

Perhaps the most prevalent group ceremony still performed in Glacier Bay is that honoring an elderly Chookaneidí woman named *Kaasteen*. In Huna oral traditions regarding the glacier's advance, it is said that a woman by that name opted to stay behind—identifying the valley as her home, and not wishing to slow the departure of her people. *Kaasteen* remained in her uncle's house in Glacier Bay, even as the glacial ice overtook it. She asked that they come back to remember her; as the people evacuated, they saw her home crushed below the advancing ice. Today, Chookaneidí people have the obligation to offer prayers and to leave offerings of food and tobacco at the base of the glacier, where her spirit is believed to be manifest. As Lily White summarizes this important part of Chookaneidí oral tradition and practice,

Kaasteen ...was brave enough to stay behind to make room for the children. She said, 'I'm too old now. Leave me here. Even if I go over there, I'll die anyway. I'll just make room for the kids and the young girls.' And she said that, 'What's going to be hard for me is that I can't chew snuff anymore.'...So the men folks, like you guys, came to her. Put furs on her, food in front of her, *Kaasteen*...food, which she wasn't ever going to eat. They held her in their arms. They left her. So when they go back in remembrance of her, they know when the glacier went back. They went over there first, and they took her snuff. When they dropped

it in the water, everybody broke down. And she was the master of the glaciers that gets in the water, and when it comes down, our Tlingit people call it... 'glacier comes down.' We do it when we're going to have a party, we stamp our feet, we call out... Stamp our feet. When the glacier's in the water, if these guys are hunting up there in the glaciers like that, don't ever go without snuff. Move out of our way *Kaasteen* ... Later on you can see water's coming through. It's been proven time and time again. And they say she's still alive in the glacier, in the mountain. And we grew up, everybody, with that story (LW).

Kaasteen's descendants honor her presence in Glacier Bay through song and ceremonial offerings. Wanda Culp describes the ceremonial protocol that was followed when she was aboard one of six boats that entered Glacier Bay during the Peaceful Demonstration of 1992:

We don't ever just 'go into Glacier Bay' ... Jumbo's boat, *The Yankee*, was allowed to go in front and lead us in because he was our elder. And we didn't just go in, we all stopped at the mouth, we all had our plates of food to feed *Kaasteen*, and the tobacco goes in there too. This is to make connection with the spirits and feed the spirits. Welcoming, saying, 'We recognize you and your presence.' That is the protocol of how we go into our homeland, because of the spirit of *Kaasteen* has made it a shrine (WC).

Today, the rituals linked to *Kaasteen* largely occur at the base of Margerie Glacier; the glacier is understood to descend from Mount Fairweather toward its tidewater extremities, especially at Margerie Glacier. But in fact they can occur at any tidewater glacier within the Bay that is associated with an important Tlingit geographic name or event. These ceremonies are of potent and poignant importance to many Huna – Chookaneidí in particular – and are a critical component of Huna ceremonial life in the park today. Gordon Greenwald describes his perception of *Kaasteen*:

I'm not equating *Kaasteen* to Christ, but I'm saying that to me, *Kaasteen* is as precious to me as Christ is to a Christian... we don't see her as our savior in that same sense... [but] that's my feeling. She's as spiritual to me as Christ is to a Christian... She's our tie. She's our guaranteed tie, our anchor (GG).

Thus, Margerie Glacier is a place of unique power and emotion for many Huna people. While there, people are told they should "think about your history, think about your ancestry.... about people who have died [in recent times] and about your children"

(LH). People call out the names of the deceased in their community during those ceremonies. People put aside their interpersonal conflicts at this place and are on their most honorable behavior, as protocol demands. Chookaneidí are eagle moiety, and so



Figure 8: Richard Dalton, presiding over a ceremony to honor *Kaasteen* and other ancestors, including those who have recently passed away. Offerings of food (shown here) and tobacco are placed in the water as part of these ceremonies, which are of profound significance to Huna returning to the Bay. Douglas Deur photo.

they are supported in these ceremonies by members of the raven moiety, who sing “cry songs” and provide other support during the events. When the ice calves off during the ceremonies or animals are seen eating the food offerings, this is widely appreciated to be evidence that the offering was accepted and appreciated. Themes of displacement, resilience, and exile are all interwoven into ceremonial events – reflecting both the Huna experience of glacial advance but also resonating with Huna perceptions of their modern relationship with a Glacier Bay that is no longer controlled by the Huna but instead by the National Park Service. The solemnity of the ceremony creates incentives for participants to remember and recapitulate the details of traditional cultural practice with exactitude – facilitating the preservation of Tlingit ceremonial traditions generally.²²

The ceremonies that honor *Kaasteen* and the various ancestors that are believed to inhabit the Bay, as well as the other ceremonies described above, are just a portion of

the larger ceremonial tradition that has been associated with Tlingit use of Glacier Bay, historically and today. These ceremonial activities are said to be necessary to engage the landscape – to “keep it alive” and to maintain the connection between the Huna and this part of their homeland.



Figure 9: An arborglyph, carved directly into the side of a living Sitka spruce tree near Glacier Bay Lodge in the late 20th century. More common but less striking in the vicinity of the Lodge and Park Headquarters at Bartlett Cove are so-called “culturally modified trees”, the bark, cambium, and pitch of which were selectively removed by Natives over centuries for use in fire starting, foods, medicines, or other manufactures (Lewis and Mobley 1994). Material signs of cultural activity on the landscape around Glacier Bay proper are often subtle, but can be found in many locations. Most of these traces have considerable time depth, but others, such as this arborglyph, are quite recent. Traditional Cultural Properties may include such material objects, but under the terms of

National Register guidance generally include properties where the significance is intangible, residing largely in the hearts and minds of living people. Douglas Deur photo.

Huna Perspectives on Cruise Ship Effects and their Remediation

What follows is a summary overview of specific concerns expressed by Huna interviewees regarding cruise ship impacts – especially those that appear to be potentially influenced by changes in cruise ship numbers. The nature and severity of impacts has been influenced by a number of variables over time. As cruise ship numbers have increased, certain types of impacts have increased likewise, such as exhaust discharges and crowding. Simultaneously, the evolution of park policy regarding cruise ships has helped to resolve or moderate some problems that have existed over historical time. Changes in visitor attitudes were also mentioned as a moderating effect on some impacts, such as the overboard disposal of trash – an effect that clearly reflects broader social changes within the population of visitors but may be aided by interpretive efforts aboard cruise ship vessels. (Certainly, these changes are also shaped by the conditions of cruise ship concession permits, which do not allow paper cups and other potential litter to be used on deck during cruise ships' passage through Glacier Bay.) Consultants also distinguished between the clientele and impacts of large cruise ships, like Holland America and Princess, versus smaller ones, like Cruise West and National Geographic, suggesting that attitudes of visitors and tour ship operators vary over a broad and sometimes predictable spectrum. The nature of cruise ship tourism is dynamic and diverse, and this is reflected in the pages that follow.

The cruise ship effects that are described here are found widely within Glacier Bay proper, and raise certain management issues throughout the Bay. That being said, this document was initiated in no small part to focus upon the regulatory implications of findings as they relate to TCPs, and so the narrative below seeks to illuminate how these effects manifest in those locations. This is done advisedly, recognizing that the effects of cruise ships at a TCP are in some ways “representative” of effects perceived by Huna Tlingit throughout the larger Bay and beyond.

Considering the cultural context outlined above, it is important to appreciate both the scale and speed of the changes witnessed by Huna Tlingits in Glacier Bay. In the broader context of Tlingit oral tradition and Alaska history, cruise ship-based tourism in Glacier Bay is a remarkably recent phenomenon. Originating in the mid-20th century, regular cruise ship visitation to the park increased rapidly through the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, with cruise lines such as Holland America, Princess, Royal Viking, and Norwegian Cruise Lines adding Glacier Bay legs to their southeast Alaskan itineraries.²³ The Glacier Bay leg of these journeys is widely reported to be a popular

and marketable component of southeast Alaska cruise ship itineraries generally. While the detailed timing and developments of this history are beyond the scope of this document, a number of sources have been compiled that illuminate this history, including VQOR EIS documentation as well as such materials as the park's administrative history (Catton 1995).

The entry of cruise ships and tour boats into Glacier Bay was closely monitored by Tlingit fishermen, who regarded these ships with a mixture of curiosity and concern. Tom Mills describes the cruise ships he saw enter Glacier Bay in the 1960s:

The cruise ships started to actively come in...It used to be one or two old, old schooner type boats, wooden boats that used to come up here...they used to bring a bunch of tourists up there, maybe once a month or once a season (TM).

Since the 1970s, cruise ships in Glacier Bay have increased in both capacity and frequency and are now, as some interviewees suggest, the equivalent of “small floating cities,” transporting thousands of tourists every year into the Glacier Bay homeland of the Huna Tlingit.

It is important to underscore the brevity of this history for a variety of reasons. First, the changes associated with the arrival of the cruise ship industry, from its tentative and experimental beginnings to its well-regulated present, have all played out within only a few decades, and therefore within the lifetimes of Tlingit individuals who visit the park for cultural and resource gathering purposes. When a Tlingit interviewee expresses concerns about “cruise ships” as a phenomenon, as so often happened in our interviews for this project, they are not always parsing out their responses to, for example, impacts as they have been observed in the late 1970s versus 2014. In the perception of many individuals and arguably among the Huna community generally, cruise ships represent a recent and transformative phenomenon within Glacier Bay. This transformation is often depicted as being essentially unidirectional and monolithic – as a gradual reoccupation of the Bay by outside interests with values and objectives that are fundamentally different from, and often at odds with, Tlingit values and objectives, and that have disproportionate fiscal and political influence.²⁴ Simultaneously, the park's regulatory influences over cruise ship activities in the Bay – having evolved rapidly alongside the developing industry as a result of both park and industry initiatives to minimize impacts on park resources – represent subtleties that are often overlooked in this larger historical narrative among the Huna Tlingit. Responses from interviewees often address impacts that have been resolved in recent times as if they are still a problem; while effectively contained by changes in policy, one might suggest that these issues remain as perceived or “perceptual problems” and

still warrant some consideration in the course of tribal consultation and compliance pertaining to TCPs and other matters.

With this in mind, it is important to note that a certain segment of Huna interviewees often describe the NPS and the cruise ship industry as being effectively “in collusion” to promote the cruise ship industry in Glacier Bay, even if it is apparent to others that the interests of the NPS and the industry are not always in full alignment. The perception that the NPS and the cruise ship industry are fundamentally “linked” may derive from the fact that the industry became a presence in GBP just as Glacier Bay National Park was developing into a modern NPS unit. The park’s history, ranging from its original designation as a National Monument in 1925, to its full development as the modern Park and Preserve in 1980, brought a slow but steady increase in the palpable federal presence in GBP that coincidentally paralleled the rise of the modern cruise ship industry. Some Huna families retained allotments in the Bay and others continued to hunt, fish, and gather other foods, but their grasp on the land became increasingly tenuous.²⁵ Tlingit use of Glacier Bay proper declined steadily during the same period that cruise ship traffic increased steadily. Although interviewees suggest that the decline in Huna use was only partially influenced by direct competition for space with cruise ship traffic, this was clearly an influence in the decline of use. People increasingly tried to avoid the sights, sounds, wakes, and other disturbances of the expanding volume of larger and larger ships. The correlation thus colors the way Tlingit people perceived cruise ships in the Bay as a *displacing force*. Interviewees also note that, while being protected as a unit of the National Park Service, Glacier Bay became an increasingly regulated landscape that seemed, in their view, to favor cruise ships’ needs and other visitor functions over Tlingit interests.

In light of the historical context of Tlingit ties to Glacier Bay and the comparative newness of the cruise ship industry, the perception that cruise ship tourism is “linked” to other social challenges and the loss of access to Glacier Bay are perhaps not surprising. The brief history of cruise-ship-based tourism in Glacier Bay, taking place largely within the last half century, has coincided with a time of riveting changes to Tlingit life that often have little directly to do with the park, park management, or the cruise ship industry. A number of factors have conspired to challenge Tlingit access to natural resources generally over this period, including increasing competition from non-Native interests, new state and federal regulations, and the economic transformation of Tlingit communities themselves. The 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the development of the modern Native Corporation structure have served to reinvigorate Tlingit land ownership and resource rights, but in a highly circumscribed way that tends to limit uses of expansive traditional territories. In the Huna case, while the village and regional corporations did gain ownership of some lands around the village of Hoonah, more than 90% of their original dwelling lands (and 100% of waters, the lifeline of a maritime people) have been taken out of their ownership, and the majority put into federal protected status,

which places limits on resource use. Some families report having experienced declining traditional resource use within Glacier Bay specifically, due to various factors related to NPS management – such as NPS regulations regarding seal hunting, egg collecting, or commercial fishing – as well as a host of forces beyond the NPS’s control, such as the cost of boat fuel, the presence of alternative food sources, time constraints associated with paid employment, broader socioeconomic changes in the community, and the like.

The late 20th and early 21st century has also been a period of cultural revival and economic diversification. As elsewhere in Native North America, the traditional users of Glacier Bay experience an awkward balance as they have secured expanded legal freedoms to participate in traditional cultural activities, but are increasingly integrated into national and international networks of economic and cultural exchange that often challenge traditional values and conventions. Some of these changes have been prompted by their own corporations, and nontraditional corporation-sanctioned activities on their own lands, such as clearcut logging, tourism, and other development. Native institutions have sometimes been at odds over the best course for economic investment and development in light of the need to protect culturally significant landscapes and subsistence livelihoods. In other cases they have been in competing or complementary roles in supporting those opportunities for development which are widely viewed as sustainable, such as tourism. In the Hoonah case, this means that both the village corporation (Huna Totem Corporation) and the Tribe (Hoonah Indian Association) have come to advocate for traditional resource use and for a larger role in tourism and other industries.

TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CRUISE SHIP IMPACTS

Tangible impacts—those that are immediately observable on the landscape—are often difficult to isolate from one-another, but are a consistent theme in interviewee accounts and are discussed individually in the pages that follow. These tangible effects are often linked to one another or involve understandings of environmental causality that are complex. To demonstrate how these tangible effects are linked in interviewees' accounts, we might note that certain interviewees, for example, suggested that cruise ships arriving in the 1970s were too close to shore, noisy, and emitted copious amounts of black smoke and pollutants ("unused fuel"), which, they say, frightened and confused terrestrial wildlife such as mountain goats, and reduced the quality of their food supply. In turn, they suggested that mountain goats, wary of these ships, their sounds, their pollution and other disturbances associated with them, refused to come down to lower altitudes, where browse was richer and more plentiful. This, in turn, was said to have impacted hunters as goats became harder to hunt, while mountain goat wool, deposited on vegetation as part of spring shedding, became more difficult to harvest (SH, EH). One of these individuals also discovered a bloated goat floating in the water, which he believed had been poisoned by a food supply contaminated by exhaust and other discharges. In turn, these impacts were said to have reduced Tlingit access to mountain goats in the Bay—an effect that was compounded when preexisting prohibitions on mountain goat hunting in the Park began to be actively enforced. Changes in park policy, allowing for limited gathering of shed goat wool, have the potential to reduce some of these effects and reconnect Huna with mountain goats in the Bay. At the same time, gradual increases in cruise ship scale and numbers, according to the principle of competitive displacement if not contamination from pollutants, may limit Huna opportunities for wool harvesting in certain locations. Disentangling these interconnected phenomena is no small task, but we seek to do so in the pages that follow.

It is important to note that, while the foundations of Tlingit concerns are rooted in their deep cultural and historical associations with Glacier Bay, the concerns expressed regarding "tangible impacts" are very often focused on what might superficially appear to be natural resource impacts. These concerns focus specifically on what might be termed "culturally significant natural resources" and are very similar to the concerns shared by GLBA natural resource managers as those managers have assessed cruise ship impacts in Glacier Bay proper (Gende and Scheinberg 2010). The majority of interviewees' discussions of cruise ship impacts arguably center on forms of pollution and its effects on culturally sensitive flora and fauna. Yet, these culturally significant plants and animals are clearly contributing elements to the significance of TCPs within Glacier Bay proper, and their health is essential to the integrity of these sites as defined in National Register Bulletin 38 and other National Register of Historic Places bulletins. Interviews conducted for this study suggest that pollution impacts on

flora and fauna in turn have impacts on a diverse range of resources (TCPs among them) and their integrity that warrant consideration in future management planning – all points considered in more detail below.

Yet, not all reported impacts are so tangible. Fortunately, social scientists – including anthropologists – have focused considerable research on “intangible impacts.” Recently, for example, researchers such as Nancy Turner and others (see Turner et al. 2008) have called for a new paradigm to assess impacts to indigenous lands and resources through the recognition of what they term “invisible losses,” and the “legitimacy of cultural values and traditional knowledge in environmental decision making and policy.” Invisible losses, they assert, are those “not widely recognized or accounted for in decisions about resource planning and decision making in resource- and land-use negotiations precisely because they involve considerations that tend to be ignored or not fully understood by managers and scientists or because they are often indirect or cumulative, resulting from a complex, often cumulative series of events, decisions, choices, or policies.” Indigenous communities throughout Alaska, Canada, and beyond have experienced many such losses, they suggest, which “together, have resulted in a decline in the overall resilience of individuals and communities.” The authors identify eight types of invisible losses: 1) cultural/lifestyle losses, 2) loss of identity, 3) health losses, 4) loss of self-determination and influence, 5) emotional and psychological losses, 6) loss of order in the world, 7) knowledge losses, and 8) indirect economic losses and lost opportunities.

Accordingly, an objective of this study has been, in part, to identify and describe any such “invisible losses,” within the Huna Tlingit community that might relate to cruise ship traffic. Although the current research was not guided by Turner’s typology of “invisible losses,” a number of cruise ship impacts identified by interviewees are clearly intangible and fit easily into Turner’s typology. Given the many connections between the Huna Tlingit and Glacier Bay, both the presence of cruise ships and the displacement of Native fishing, hunting, and gathering activities are said to have impacted Huna Tlingits’ cultural ties to the Bay, and “intangible impacts” often relate to these secondary cultural effects. Understanding the nature of continuing ties, in relation to losses, is also important for identifying and protecting key Traditional Cultural Properties identified in Glacier Bay, the values of which are not always tangible to non-Native visitors of the park. What follows in the sections ahead, then, is an effort to express and contextualize some of those “losses” as understood by Huna Tlingit interviewees – whether those losses are seen as tangible or intangible.

RESPECT AND OTHER KEY CULTURAL VALUES IN UNDERSTANDING TLINGIT PERSPECTIVES ON CRUISE SHIP EFFECTS

The presence of cruise ships in Glacier Bay results in a wide range of possible impacts to the Bay, its resources and the Huna Tlingit. Interviewees frequently expressed their concerns regarding the impact of these “floating cities,” on both the physical health of the ecosystem within Glacier Bay, as well as the conservation of cultural standards of respect and stewardship toward the Bay, as the homeland of the Huna Tlingit. Many National Park Service staff share the same concerns about the impacts to Glacier Bay that are commonly expressed by the Huna Tlingit. However, the Huna people’s relationship with the Bay is unique in its depth and intensity, thus affording them distinct perspectives on this set of issues. To the Huna, the negative impacts resulting from cruise ships in the Bay manifest a form of disrespect to the Bay, as well as to the people, themselves. Just as the concept of “respect” and the contrasting concept of “disrespect” are fundamental to understanding Huna cultural concepts relating to Glacier Bay, these are arguably also the fundamental organizing principles in Huna understandings of outsider’s impacts on culturally significant landscapes. Seemingly disparate expressions of concern and grievance by Huna people cannot be satisfactorily understood individually or as a unit if not considered without some reference to the culturally rooted understanding of “respect” and its various manifestations. This concept of disrespect presents itself in both tangible forms (such as the overboard disposal of trash by visitors) and intangible forms (such as visitors behaving raucously at the base of Margerie Glacier).

Seeking to define what respect implies in the context of cruise ship traffic, some focused on the spiritual aspects of respect – the notion that people behaving disrespectfully toward the landscape by excessive pollution, noise, or raucous, rude behavior, for example, might upset delicate balances between humans and the forces and beings resident in Glacier Bay. Some note that respect is an all-encompassing concept, and that traditionally respect is required to maintain balanced relationships on all ledgers. James Jack describes the way that respect applies to every aspect of Tlingit life, stating, “you respect their land, you respect their home, you respect their clan, you respect their elders, their leadership, you know...And you respect their beliefs” (JJ). Johan Dybdahl reiterates this all-encompassing Tlingit concept of respect, saying, “much of the Tlingit culture is based on that whole idea of respect, not only for, you know, respect for everything that’s living and how it all interacts” (JD). Others focused on the need for visitors to respect the Huna and their relationship to Glacier Bay as their homeland. As Veronica Dalton comments, “Respect, I think is...very hard to measure but...you don’t want people to come and trash your home” (VD). Lily White echoes this sentiment: “They should feel respect, because it belonged to our

people” (LW). At minimum, Huna interviewees expressed that they “expect visitors to be honorable” (LH). Some also indicated that the behavior of cruise ship crews and visitors was not necessarily disrespectful but that all behaviors of outsiders might potentially cross “thresholds of disrespect” – below which their behavior is acceptable and above which it is not.

In the context of the myriad impacts that cruise ships have on Glacier Bay and the Huna Tlingit, there are certain key concepts that emerged in almost every interview, and that warrant brief discussion here – elementary notions of “fairness,” “contamination,” “reciprocity,” and “disruption” are fundamental to understanding the more detailed discussion of ethnographic resource impacts in later sections of this document. Further, it is important to recognize that the Tlingit concept of “respect,” envelops all of these aforementioned concepts.

Also critical to understanding Tlingit concerns about cruise ships in Glacier Bay is the fact that, due to their unique relationship with the Bay, they experience the “negative externalities” of cruise ship traffic directly, but have not, until very recently, experienced its economic benefits. Linked to the concept of fairness, notions of reciprocity are key to traditional Tlingit culture, society, and economy. Any taking, offense, or imposition must be reciprocated through ceremonial and material exchanges, using venues such as the potlatch (or *ku.éex’*, from the Tlingit verb “to invite”) if communities are to coexist peacefully. The presence of cruise ships in Glacier Bay ostensibly represents an imposition, an offense, and perhaps even a “taking” in the Tlingit view, but without commensurate levels of reciprocation to offset that loss.

To be sure, there is a pervasive view among Huna people that Tlingit access to Glacier Bay has been curtailed due to a combination of restrictions – prohibitions on hunting, fishing and trapping, restrictions on carrying firearms in the park, regulations of boat use, the historical removal of seasonal structures and reduced options for seasonal occupation, and a strong sense of dispossession and being “unwelcome.” (Though the NPS denies direct responsibility for the removal of seasonal structures, there is much evidence of someone having removed these structures, with or without NPS sanction; in contrast, the US Forest Service has acknowledged and apologized for a policy of removing Native seasonal structures on the Tongass National Forest without consultation.) Continued use is said to depend on a certain level of clandestine activity that is considered undignified and inappropriate for a people who until recently held uncontested control over the lands and resources of the Bay: “Our whole life we have been teaching our kids to be honest, not to steal...then when we go into Glacier Bay we feel like we are stealing” (TM).

This *sense of dispossession* is reflected strongly in the accounts of Huna interviewees regarding cruise ships. Almost every interviewee centered a portion of their discussion

on the concept of “fairness,” reflecting a perception that declining Tlingit access juxtaposed with expanding tourist use. As many will observe, “Glacier Bay is our ancestral homeland....and yet others are allowed in while the Tlingit are excluded” (DG). Though there are technically no visitation limits on the Huna Tlingit, park regulations on hunting, prohibitions against carrying firearms, limits on boat numbers and boat operating requirements, commercial fishing restrictions, and other regulated limits on use create an impression among some Huna users that Huna access is in some way being blocked by the park to accommodate recreational uses of the park. As one individual lamented, reflecting widely held perceptions, “They lock us out of [the Bay], but they let everyone else in the world go there.” “The NPS...they said ‘you’re not capable of maintaining the land. You’re ignorant and we’re going to take care of it.’” (JS). “They told us nothing would ever change, that we’d always be able to go in there and gather and fish just like we always did....well, pretty soon they were chasing us out of there” (GD).²⁶

Many Tlingits see a colonial logic in this, i.e., that it is necessary to lock out and erase their presence in order to claim the Bay as an iconic “wilderness destination.” But this is a cultural logic they reject. On the contrary, most see it as their right to stay connected with their ancestral landscape and their prerogative to orient visitors properly to their homeland. This, then, contributes to a sense that cruise ships are linked to broader “injustices” and the ships are seen by some as emblematic of displacement and the loss of access and control over Glacier Bay. Interviewees often suggest that they were displaced by past NPS policies that implied that Huna settlement and land use somehow impaired or damaged the “pristine” environments of the Bay. The presence of thousands of tourists coming and going by ship seems, therefore, contradictory – as it dwarfs the scale and impact of past Huna occupation in their view, and raising suspicions that federal policy has prioritized the needs of outsiders over those of the resident people.

Cumulatively, then, interviewees seem to share a symbolically significant sense of a “loss of control,” and feel that the Huna people have been demoted from “host” to “guest” status in a place that is uniquely central to Huna Tlingit culture and identity. The presence of cruise ships highlights and/or amplifies this feeling. Still, many Huna interviewees note that the sometimes awkward relationship with the NPS has also had a variety of silver linings. As noted previously, Glacier Bay’s great material, historical, and spiritual abundance in the lives of the Huna has resulted in many individuals conceptualizing the Bay as “pristine” and as a “refuge” – a view largely compatible with its national park status. Many Huna appreciate the extent to which many of these values have been protected by the National Park Service (principally by limiting development and industrial exploitation).²⁷ If there is a principal threat to this beneficial outcome, some suggest, it is that cruise ships threaten these properties of the park and the Bay, through their tangible and intangible effects on the landscape.

Certainly, there have been a variety of activities and programs initiated by the park that have contributed to Huna community life in various ways.

Simultaneously, the development of recreational uses of Glacier Bay has produced an awkward juxtaposition between human activities and expectations, effectively creating a “tourist destination” in the midst of a “sacred place” – resulting in dissonant views and uses of the landscape that many Huna find difficult to reconcile. “They’d taken... our homeland and turned it into a tourist attraction” (CW). Cruise ship tourism at the three waterfront TCPs was sometimes compared to desecrating a church or “building a McDonalds at Arlington Cemetery” (JS). Sharp contrasts are also perceived to separate the cruise ship visitors and the Huna Tlingit, including stark differences in wealth and class, level of comfort, level of engagement with and respect for the landscape, and many others. The use of the Bay as a place for casual recreational engagement or “wilderness discovery” is a concept alien to traditional Tlingit sensibilities. In contrast, many non-Natives who support the idea of maintaining wilderness and “pristine landscapes” may find even the allowance of traditional food gathering activities in the park (Glacier Bay as an “icebox” for Huna people) to be subordinate, if not at odds, with the park’s main mission and values (wilderness preservation and scientific study). Cruise ships may compound those effects, in some Huna Tlingits’ view, or are considered large and potentially symbolic manifestations of the tourist “invasion” of this sacred place.

As with “fairness,” “contamination” is another concept crucial in the discussion of cruise ship impacts in Glacier Bay. If cleanliness and “purity” are important to Tlingit conceptualizations of Glacier Bay’s importance and continued resource use, it is clear that cruise ships introduce a number of potential discharges that contaminate the place and thereby undermine these qualities. A significant number of interviewees’ concerns center on these discharges, such as the discharge of exhaust, as well as the inadvertent dispersal of trash and the historical discharges of wastewater. Many view such discharges as actions of profound disrespect to the landscape, but also as vectors for the introduction of impurities into a place where the preservation of “cleanliness” is key to enduring cultural uses of the landscape. There is also some suggestion that the presence of so many individuals who are disrespectful, or even aloof, in their engagement with this sacred landscape represents a form of contaminative disrespect that has the potential to undermine the spiritual powers and potentials of the landscape, which operate in a kind of reciprocal covenant renewed by Tlingit descendants’ acts of ritual propitiation; this point requires further investigation.

In this light, “contamination” from cruise ships can be spiritual as well as biomechanical. Glacier Bay is perceived to have inherent spiritual and cultural properties that are violated to some degree by exposure to not only pollution, but by the presence of disrespectful behavior. For example, a piece of trash encountered by a Huna visitor may be more alarming because it is a potent emblem of disrespect that

upsets metaphysical relationships than because of any direct effects of that piece of trash on the park's biota. The Tlingit perception of Glacier Bay as a place of unique and spiritual potent purity, juxtaposed with the polluting aspects of the cruise ship industry is fundamental to some of the tensions identified by interviewees and some of their gravest concerns regarding cruise ship impacts. The contaminative impact of the ships is not just material, in their view, but is understood to be spiritual as well. By showing disrespect, the place is somehow "polluted" in a way that may not leave visible evidence but is believed by some to leave lingering adverse impacts. Put another way, the presence of cruise ships increases the potential for this kind of contaminative exposure, which has the potential to erode the spiritual properties of the place, to threaten enduring cultural associations between the Huna and their homeland, and to threaten the "food security" of the Huna by undermining the unique biological integrity of the "ice box."

As noted earlier, notions of "respect" have considerable bearing upon all of these themes. Respect is a relational concept, rather than a simple norm or rule. To be properly respectful, one must be aware of the significance of that to which one is relating, be it a glacier or an ancestral landmark. It is widely believed that humans visiting Glacier Bay proper must demonstrate respect toward landmarks of perceived spiritual power in order to maintain balanced and nurturing relationships between the people and their places. To varying degrees, almost all of the impacts addressed in this document can be understood to represent manifestations of "disrespect" in the Huna Tlingit worldview. Many interviewees expressed the view that such impacts as exhaust emissions and the (potentially inadvertent) dispersal of trash were objectionable, principally because these actions demonstrated that cruise ship operators and their clients were "not respecting the animals" and "not respecting the culture." The past use of ships' horns to accelerate the calving of glaciers was commonly mentioned as a symbolically potent form of this disrespect – a damaging, self-indulgent activity that demonstrated disrespect for the landscape and its spiritual and cultural powers.

In addition to the impacts of cruise ships discussed above, other impacts commonly identified included visual, noise, and spiritual pollution. Visual pollution is characterized by having to see large cruise ships, or "floating hotels," in one's "house" and having to endure the constant gaze of tourists and their enhanced optics (binoculars and camera lenses). Noise pollution was due not only to ships' waves and engine noise, but also to loudspeakers. Spiritual pollution refers to effects that offend or reduce respect for ancestral and geographic spirits believed to be present in the Bay, such as Kaasteen's (Chookaneidí clan woman's) spirit.

Another category of impact referenced by interviewees might be termed "regulatory pollution." Regulations promulgated since the advent of Glacier Bay's protected status as a national monument and park have tended not only to limit Tlingit activities in the

Bay, but also to contravene their traditional laws and regulatory protocols. Often these regulations are developed to protect the Bay from the impacts of non-Native visitors, but Tlingit people must abide by them too. According to Ken Grant, “it’s hard for just a Hoonah person and the Tlingit. [We hear] about having to check in [with rangers to get permission to enter the Bay] and all that. And it is, it’s hard to...why do I have to check in to my own homeland?” (KG).²⁸ The Tlingit management system was based on a system of clan and house group prerogatives balanced with responsibility for respecting and “taking care of places” (Thornton 2008). These changes in economy and resource tenure have confused many Tlingits about their rights and responsibilities in the Bay. The allotment inholdings with Glacier Bay are a further example of this pollution, as they have privatized land that was once communal and have done so on the basis of Western inheritance rules rather than Tlingit ones, meaning, in the case of Berg Bay, that an allotment has transferred land from the Chookaneidí clan (communal) to a Kaagwaantaan man (individual), and now to his widow, who is from a non-local clan (LW). Such regulations stoke conflicts of cultural logic, and undermine traditional notions of territorial autonomy. Each small step in the expansion of federal regulatory influence implies to some individuals an erosion of Tlingit authority and control. In the extreme, Tlingits become tourists on their own lands.

The limitations on access and activities in Glacier Bay, which increased alongside the rise of the cruise ship industry, as noted above, also interfere with the intergenerational transmission of knowledge among Tlingits. Such cultural transmission has historically been carried out in the context of traditional landscapes and harvesting activities. For example, Don Bolton notes, “Marble Islands was a training ground for young people so they could learn to pick eggs and do so in a safe spot...now with cruise ship [wakes] it isn’t safe” (DB). In turn, this is said to compromise intergenerational transmission of knowledge regarding the site, but also the traditional resource practices and values associated with it. As a consequence, some suggest that Huna Tlingit youth’s engagement with GLBA is increasingly a virtual one. Many parents and children have not been into the park due to lack of means of access (a safe boat and/or sufficient funds for fuel) and fear that they are “restricted” from “doing anything in there.” They must rely on their knowledge from oral traditions – themselves enriched and more resonant when told “in place” – and from the trips sponsored by the Park Service in recent years, many of which do not include onshore activities. Most embodied activities on the land, such as resource harvest, regulated by customary and traditional knowledge and behavioral prescriptions, have been replaced by virtualism, wherein a growing number of Tlingits now experience the Bay, not as users, but limited to visual engagement with the landscape from chartered boats, much like the tourist experience. This experience of virtualism is not unlike that of other indigenous peoples in relation to parks from which they have become marginalized or expelled (cf. Stevens 2014, West, et al 2006). These issues permeate broader Tlingit discussions of cruise ship “impacts” – tangible and intangible.



Figure 10: South Marble Island, shown here, is of particular importance to Huna Tlingit as a center of traditional gull egg harvests. Recent studies have demonstrated that traditional Huna conservation measures ensured that historic egg harvests had negligible effects on gull populations. Congress recently passed legislation that will allow NPS to promulgate regulations authorizing harvests in the park. While perhaps not a stand-alone TCP, South Marble, and other nearby islands may ultimately prove to be “contributing resources” to a larger multiple property nomination based on TCP criteria. The area is said to be more hazardous than was the case historically, due to the combined effects of cruise ship wakes and growing use of the shoreline by sea lions. Douglas Deur photo.

SPECIFIC REPORTED CRUISE SHIP EFFECTS

Tangible Impacts

While disrespecting the Bay can take both intangible and tangible forms, many interviewees commented on tangible impacts – in some interviewees’ view, “tangible forms of disrespect” – that they observed at Glacier Bay as a result of cruise ship traffic that might affect TCPs. These include multiple types of pollution, as well as safety hazards such as dangerous wakes and the introduction of invasive species and even transmittable illnesses. In turn, some of these tangible effects are said to have detrimentally impacted wildlife, resource harvesting and commercial fishing in Glacier Bay proper. The following sections provide an overview of these tangible impacts and some of the broader effects they are reported to have on the Huna people.

*Table 2: General Types of Adverse Cruise Ship Impacts
Reported by Tlingit Interviewees*

Type of Cruise Ship Impact	Widely depicted as intensifying in GBP in recent years as a function of increased cruise ship traffic	Cruise ship impact in GBP noticeably offset to varying degrees by policy, technological, or social changes
Exhaust Discharges	X	X
Crowding & Regulation	X	X
Tourist Gaze	X	
Wakes	X	X
Noise	X	X
Wildlife Disturbances	X	X
Trash	X	X
Wastewater Discharges		X

Exhaust Discharges

One issue of concern identified by most interviewees was the exhaust discharges of cruise ships. Interviewees suggested that various culturally significant landmarks,

vistas, and natural resources were being contaminated by cruise ship pollution, in addition to the air within Glacier Bay proper. Some report that exhaust has been seen lingering within Glacier Bay for long periods of time, sometimes trapped in the Bay due to temperature inversions, or blanketing the mountaintops. Tom Mills, for example, recalls seeing discharge from the stacks that could last two or three days unless the wind was blowing; “A lot of it is miles long...You get to see it hanging just like a haze. And when it spreads out, it’s just like a haze. You can see it, and in some places, you could smell it” (TM). Bob Loescher, too, expresses concern over possible impacts that the ships’ exhaust might cause to the air in the Bay,

The smoke from the ships hangs in the Bay. The bay has its own environment, totally has its own weather. And it can be storming on the outside on the ocean, but Glacier Bay has its own weather, completely different place. And the smoke just hangs in the air throughout – from one end of Glacier inland waters to the head. And that always was a big problem (BL).

Interviewees attributed the first complaints about ship-related air pollution in the Bay to fishermen discussing the very first wooden tour ships in the 1960s. According to Tom Mills, “We’d see them going in. They still had the old, great big stack on there, black smoke puffing out of it, and it’s burning crude, or number two” (TM). Though cruise ships gradually adopted newer engines and exhaust systems and NPS vessel operating requirements are designed to limit stack emissions, the increase in their number and scale is said to have offset any advantages that those changes might have conferred.

The daily impact of cruise ship exhaust, some note, may be negligible, but the accumulation of daily visits throughout the tourist season over many years may be best calculated by those who remember baseline conditions, before the introduction of the cruise ship industry. Wanda Culp describes the reaction of an elder, upon her first visit to Glacier Bay since childhood,

I remember Mary Johnson standing there with her hands up on her heart saying, ‘This place is filthy!’ She looked. We all saw the smoke lingering in the air, and that’s what she was talking to, the tour boats. She said, ‘This place is filthy.’ And she meant it (WC).

Frank Wright recalls similar events. He began running his father’s boat in Glacier Bay in the 1970s, when he was a teenager, and remembers seeing rapid changes in air quality near Willoughby Island, just outside of Berg Bay:

One thing I remember seeing, though, when I start running the boat, I was fishing on the ocean, coming in, passing Glacier Bay, and I just passing them ashore or something like that. And I used to see this haze, you know, because the cruise ships that were up there, up the Bay you know. I used to look at that, and I said, 'That is not pristine'... You know, you look at, you know you can still see Willoughby Island, and you can see this haze right on top of Willoughby Island (FR).

Interviewees depicted this effect as being especially objectionable due to the generally pristine nature of the environment and the cultural values associated with this pristineness. In the past, some have suggested that visible air pollution would, where it made contact with the ground, settle on the plants or leach into the soils, thus introducing contaminants into the culturally significant foods and medicines gathered at Glacier Bay. This is said to be of particular concern in places where the particulates settled, such as berry patches along the beaches adjacent to the ship transit channels, but also, up on the hillsides where the haze made contact with the vegetation growing there. In this view, airborne contaminants then make their way into the food sources that the Huna Tlingit rely on for food purposes, such as berry patches, shellfish beds, and seaweed gathering areas, as well as entering into the diet of mountain goats, seals, and various fish in Glacier Bay. This would include resources harvested at the three waterline TCPs – Point Gustavus/Bartlett Cove, Berg Bay, and Margerie Glacier – as well as at potentially contributing resources to a larger TCP nomination, such as the Marble Island gull egg gathering area.

A number of interviewees expressed concern regarding the possible effects of exhaust on mountain goat health and behavior. Ernestine Hanlon Able's father, Sam Hanlon, fished in Glacier Bay for three decades beginning in the 1950s. In the 1970s, he noticed that the mountain goats' behavior was impacted by the smoke; "my dad fished up there his entire life...He used to come back home and complain about emissions from the cruise ships and what it would do to the mountain goats" (EA). Specifically, Abel's father discussed how the smoke impacted the movements of the goats; "it was very obvious that the mountain goats were not coming down to the beach for the seaweed to get their salt...So they just, they stayed up there, and it was very obvious that their coats were getting dirtier" (EA; see also SH, KH). Interviewees indicate that they still observe these impacts of air pollution on mountain goat behavior today. Thomas Abel, for example, reports that he has observed mountain goats changing their migration patterns in response to lingering exhaust: "You come over the mountain, there's a layer of smoke inside the mountains, and then when they come over the mountain, mountain goats won't go through the smoke" (TA).

Some interviewees, such as Bob Loescher, also postulates that eagles are affected by the presence of smoke,

Sometimes we'd see them, sometimes we didn't. Eagles have nests up there, and we'd see these huge nests, you know, in the trees. I mean, they were...maybe ten, twelve feet big. Those nests are huge, the eagles put together. And they were affected by those, you know that business [the smoke] (BL).

A few individuals also suggest that cruise ship exhaust has also affected commercial fishing practices. These emissions have been blamed for tainting commercial fishing gear, rendering them unpalatable to salmon and therefore useless to fishermen until they are cleaned. Tom Mills explains,

I didn't notice it, but I've heard some of my buddies talking about all the soot coming out of there and landing on their boats, because king salmon are particular when you're fishing with them. You can't have too many scents on your gear or your hands or anything, because they're real particular feeders...[air contaminants] get on your gear, and the fish won't come near it. The fish won't bite until you clean all your gear again (TM).

Even if some of these effects on culturally significant natural resources are not measurable in a Western scientific sense, they change and materially affect Huna perceptions of the resources and their suitability for human use and consumption. Such pollution is perceived to have the potential to impair the well-being of these culturally significant natural resources, apparently as well as the health and well-being of those individuals who might consume these products. As the foods and animal products (especially mountain goat wool) from Glacier Bay are used in ceremonial applications, this potential raises not only health concerns, some suggest, but has the potential to undermine the integrity and ceremonial potency of these ceremonial items. At least one individual has noted that emissions contaminated the browse of mountain goats, which would ingest the contaminants and concentrate them; thus, the air pollution contaminates "our medicine that comes to us from up on the mountains." Some individuals suggested that land mammals changed their patterns of movement within Glacier Bay in response to air contamination—especially mountain goats—and that this might both place stresses on the goats, while also changing the distribution of harvestable goat wool within the park.

Individuals have also suggested that soot from the ship stacks can contaminate the park's glaciers, including TCP Margerie Glacier, as airborne particulates settle on their surfaces. In turn, they speculated that this phenomenon could accelerate ice melt in part by reducing the albedo of the glacial ice. As this glacier is considered by Huna

people to be among the most sacred landmarks in the park, the fact that cruise ship operations might simultaneously pollute the glacier and accelerate its disappearance is seen by some as an especially alarming side-effect of cruise ship visitation.

Some individuals also express general concerns, which appear to be fundamentally aesthetic, about the haze that exhaust discharges introduce into the Bay, occluding or sullyng vistas that are themselves personally and culturally significant. The view of the TCP, Mt. Fairweather, is of particular concern, since the view of that mountain is said to have cultural importance and has historically had ceremonial importance as well.

Again, as with most impacts, concerns expressed regarding the impacts of ship exhaust are multifaceted; there are specific, observable negative outcomes observed by Huna Tlingit, such as the visible exhaust plume. There are also perceived impacts to natural resources that, in some cases, would be difficult to quantify using the conventional methods of Western science, such as the effects of exhaust on the ceremonial efficacy of particular natural products. Simultaneously, as in the case of most resource impacts discussed here, the release of airborne contaminants undermines the Tlingit sense of Glacier Bay as a pristine “refuge” and, importantly, serves as a potent emblem of the disrespect that many Tlingit feel the cruise ships manifest within this unique place. Though not all of the possible impacts that air pollution has on Glacier Bay’s ecosystem are fully known or understood at this point – and some may even originate from sources other than cruise ships, such as industrial pollution from Asian sources – air pollution does present both tangible and intangible effects on culturally significant resources and practices linked to the TCPs of Glacier Bay proper.

Wastewater and Other Liquid Discharges

Discharge of wastewater within Glacier Bay, a practice now forbidden by state and federal law, was said to be objectionable for many of the same reasons outlined in reference to exhaust discharges, above. Historically, there were no restrictions on when or where wastewater could be released. Tom Mills still recalls the era of largely unregulated wastewater discharges in the Bay:

Well, a lot of them [cruise ships] will be discharging their sewage or their holding tanks or whatever you call it. Because sometimes we’d be sitting on a beach, and a lot of us, we’d climb to get rid of our sea legs, you climb up real high on a cliff, and you can look down and see this one place up by Tidal Inlet, where you can just walk on a goat trail all the way up on top of the mountain...I could see the discoloration of the water from up there, so you knew they were [dumping water] (TM).



Figure 11: The Holland America ship Zuiderdam in Glacier Bay. The exhaust, wake and other effects of such cruise ships are of concern to most interviewees. Holland America stands apart from most other major cruise lines in including Huna interpreters as a regular part of their Glacier Bay itinerary, which some interviewees suggest partially offsets other adverse effects. Photo by Yankeesman312, Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Wastewater discharges that occurred in the park historically, inadvertently or otherwise, were said to have contaminated marine and intertidal resources, and to have served as a profound display of “disrespect” for the marine environment and the Huna homeland.

For a time, a number of interviewees suggest, the prohibitions on wastewater discharges in the park compelled some cruise ships to discharge wastewater when preparing to enter or departing Glacier Bay near Point Adolphus. The Point Adolphus area is both the location of important fishing grounds, as well as a place of pronounced cultural significance to the Huna Tlingit. Though outside of the park, this point appears eligible for TCP status, in part, due to its prominence in oral traditions about

events during the Little Ice Age glacial advance and the resulting exodus from villages in what became Glacier Bay. Reportedly, dead fish and kelp were observed at Point Adolphus in the past – the apparent result of an anoxic “dead zone” associated with repeat discharges in this location. In turn, this was said to have resulted in a change in the distribution of marine mammals, including humpback whales and orcas, which some interviewees believe to have declined (SH, TM).

While changes in federal law has largely displaced these interior water discharges into open waters some distance from Point Adolphus and Glacier Bay, some interviewees express concern regarding these continued wastewater discharges. As a destination, Glacier Bay is often said to have increased the frequency of these discharges in open waters that are still within or proximate to Huna territory, raising some of the same issues regarding subsistence and ceremonial resource impacts that have arisen with interior water discharges.²⁹

Interviewees continue to express concern about possible inadvertent discharges of wastewater, as well as bilgewater, oil and fuel. There is some evidence to suggest that occasional, perhaps inadvertent, wastewater discharges continue from both cruise ships and from smaller craft.³⁰

Somewhat tangentially here, a small number of Tlingit interviewees alluded to the potentially polluting effects of invasive species, brought into the Bay on the hulls or in the bilge water of cruise ships. Such invasive species were said to have uncertain but potentially destructive effects.

Trash

Interviewees indicate that trash dropped overboard by cruise ship visitors, inadvertently or otherwise, washes up on the shoreline of Glacier Bay. Historically, the dispersal of trash from individual ships was said to have been a worse problem than it is today. In the early years of the cruise ship industry, interviewees noted, many visitors seemed to have no compunction about tossing trash overboard. Interviewees such as Carol Williams also witnessed littering first-hand in Glacier Bay, watching tourists discard objects from the decks of cruise ships into the water: “There was people on the boat, on the cruise ship that had thrown things overboard, and we had witnessed it. And, you know, it makes you feel bad. It makes you feel bad” (CW). Litter was said to accumulate along the Glacier Bay shoreline at certain times. Litter was also said to be especially bad at points of ingress and egress outside of the park boundaries. Trash left by visitors is often reported to have been visible in the Bay for decades. Johan Dybdahl, for example recounts finding large amounts of trash along the coasts of Cape Spencer and Yakobi Island in the 1970s,

There were definitely times when we'd be out off of Spencer or Yakobi that we would run into the garbage that they had, they were throwing off the ship...I mean, Christ, one day we had to pick our way along the tide rips and stuff, because there was these great big grey bags full of trash and stuff that they had thrown off of the ships (JD).

Interviewees noted that, in more recent decades, due to improved regulation both inside and outside the park, as well as changes in public attitudes, intentional littering has declined. Interviewees stated that, nonetheless, trash items still find their way overboard due to what is assumed to be both intentional and unintentional dispersals by individual visitors. In the "inadvertent" category, disposable drink cups are often blown overboard and are said to have been a significant source of shoreline trash in recent times.

Interviewees stated their perception that the intentional dispersal of trash by cruise ship visitors is modest but still continues. A few interviewees report that cigarette butts are still sometimes tossed overboard from cruise ships, though it is unclear whether there have been many incidents of this type observed by Huna Tlingit in recent times. A few interviewees recalled with dismay their experiences in prior decades, finding bottles containing notes that had been tossed overboard by cruise ship passengers visiting the Bay. Tom Mills explains,

Well, we always find wine bottles with notes in it just tossed over the side on the cruise ships, and there's people talking about, just a little note in there saying how they appreciated drinking that bottle of wine or bottle of liquor while they were on a cruise over there. But all those bottles didn't go anywhere but on the beach. And there's more plastic bottles now, on the beaches now than anywhere else...Plastic bottles and BIC lighters (TM).

NPS concessions permits, some interviewees note, have served to correct a number of these problems and to contain intentional and unintentional dispersals. While the per-ship levels of trash dispersal ostensibly have declined due to changes in policy and public attitudes, the increase in cruise ship numbers simultaneously has increased the number of opportunities for these dispersals. Interviewees understandably could not make statements about specific quantifiable trends in trash dispersal within Glacier Bay, but note that it is a recurring problem, and that even encounters with small and isolated quantities of trash are seen as objectionable. They also note that the sheer number of cruise ship visitors creates potentials for significant trash.³¹ The addition of

any more cruise ships, some note, is likely to increase these numbers in spite of the best efforts of the NPS and the cruise ship industry to contain visitor littering.

Tlingit concerns regarding the dispersal of trash in Glacier Bay, like most other concerns expressed regarding visitor impacts, center on the issue of respect. A number of individuals appear to find it both unfathomable and highly offensive that a passing visitor to this bay would so undervalue one of the Huna Tlingits' most sacred and historically significant places that they would casually toss trash overboard. Comments by interviewees might suggest that the cruise ship companies, and perhaps to a lesser degree the park, are sometimes seen as being implicated in this show of disrespect, despite their efforts to address the problem. In addition to serving as an emblem of disrespect, a few Huna interviewees mentioned potential adverse impacts of such trash on fish and wildlife that are of cultural significance within the park. Like exhaust, the contaminative effects of trash are seen as undermining the "purity" of this place, and in turn eroding potentials for cultural continuity and food security among the Huna.

Noise Pollution

A number of interviewees expressed concern about the engine and loudspeaker noise that accompany cruise ship traffic. Engine noise is considered distracting along the cruise ship corridors, though some note that the noise of smaller craft is sometimes more imposing. However, some interviewees note that cruise ships appear to displace smaller craft to shallower and less accessible portions of the Glacier Bay, as a matter of both safety and preference, and that cruise ships thus contribute to the geographical dispersal of engine noise problems within Glacier Bay proper. Such noise appears to be a distraction to Huna individuals visiting Glacier Bay for social, ceremonial, resource harvesting, and commemorative purposes. Part of Glacier Bay's appeal and "pristine" quality is manifested in the solitude of the Bay, and this solitude is important to the solemnity of ceremonial and commemorative activities in GBP especially.

The NPS has embarked on studies to analyze the extent of underwater noise pollution within the Bay. Ken Grant describes noise monitoring being done near the entrance to Bartlett Cove, where small vessels in particular generate a large amount of noise:

There's the whale program, and they monitor the acoustics and all these things that go on, you know. To me, you know, last year we were trying to do a recording for the 'boater orientation' at Halibut Point there, and wow, you never notice how much noise interference there is. Just as soon as we're getting to a point where the sound's dying down, and then another boat would come by (KG).

In addition to affecting human activity, engine noise has the potential to affect the movement and abundance of culturally significant animal species, sought as game or revered because of their cultural significance. Interviewees noted that the noise above the water was sometimes significant, but speculated that underwater noise was severe and likely to affect the movements of fish, orcas, humpback whales, and other culturally important species. For example, Melvin Williams expresses concern that the high volume of the ships' engines and their frequencies may disturb both whales and seals:

I was concerned about the bigger ships going in there, having an impact on the whales and the seals. I know they're pretty sensitive. Once they enjoyed the peace and quiet all over Glacier Bay, then all of a sudden these huge cruise ships going back and forth (MW).

In turn, some interviewees are concerned that cruise ships are impacting the migratory patterns and movement of animals throughout Glacier Bay. Whales in particular may be more sensitive to engine noise produced or navigational equipment used by cruise ships, some note, as they depend upon certain frequencies to communicate with one another. Based on his observations, Tom Mills suggests that changes in whale activity in Glacier Bay may be caused by cruise ship traffic:

I do know that they do disturb the whales up there, because that one cruise ship up there was around, all them whales were just frolicking up there and just enjoying themselves, and the minute that cruise ship came by, they start coming up there, wham. All the whales just dove and disappeared. And that was around up there by Tlingit Point...I think it's because [of] their sonar, and [that is] the noises...that the ships, themselves, make (TM).

Interviewees discussed what they understood to be secondary impacts of noise pollution too, such as declines in whale or seal activity in certain parts of the Bay potentially inviting less sensitive species such as sea lions to now thrive in vacated reaches.

Interviewees believe that loudspeaker noise has similar effects to engine noise, but carrying the sounds of human speech was a uniquely disruptive and distracting form of impact. Ironically, the low speeds required in park waters to protect resource values have the effect of prolonging Tlingit visitors' exposure to loudspeaker and possibly engine noise. Interviewees suggested that the loudspeaker noise had a disruptive

effect on wildlife in the park, likely affecting their distribution, behavior, and response to human activity. People, too, often find loudspeaker noise to be distracting and disruptive when traveling in Glacier Bay for cultural or resource harvesting purposes.

Wakes

A number of interviewees made reference to the large wake created by cruise ships in Glacier Bay. The size of these wakes has varied over the years, and while NPS policies capping travel speeds in the Bay have ameliorated this effect to some degree, some interviewees suggest that the growing size of cruise ships may nonetheless result in a general upward trend in wake size and severity.

Even in calm weather there are often wakes that require special measures.³² The wake from cruise ships was said to be of danger to harvesters of traditional resources who visit Glacier Bay proper. Most prominently, individuals who visit the Marble Islands in the course of gull egg harvests and other resource procurement activities have reportedly had their boats nearly swamped or thrown high on the beach by wakes from passing cruise ships in past years. Alice Haldane has observed cruise ship wakes on South Marble Island, if not the swamping of boats:

We go on the outside of Marble Island, you know, where the big cruise ships. But even as we're passing, they try to slow down, you know, but some of them are on time limit to get up there and back down, you know, so they're [making engine noise]. And all that wake (AH).

Gordon Greenwald also comments on how wave action from a cruise ships may endanger future harvesters arriving at South Marble Island: "an activity it might affect is the fact that there would be wave action. Marble Island is not particularly easy to get in safe to park your boat" (GG). Tom Mills echoes this concern when discussing how waves made by cruise ships can become a hazard to skiffs anchored or beached at Marble Island: "That's really dangerous, from the wake of the cruise ships, when they're going up and out" (TM). Interviewees note that these wakes are often of greatest risk to young people, who often forget that the waves arrive long after a cruise ship has passed only to be swamped by large waves.

Commercial fishermen also used to have to prepare themselves for this delayed wake. Ernie Hillman recalls,

Sometimes I'm fishing, I forget the boat went by. I catch a fish, pull it aboard, and unexpectedly, my boat moves. What the heck? I look around, you know. Nobody around there, what happened? And it's the

wave of that big cruise ship that went by ten minutes ago, you know. He's way up there now, and all the sudden this wave hit me, and rolled my boat. It's a shot real quick, like, because you're bouncing around (EH).

So too, commercial salmon fishermen found these sudden waves disrupted the movement of prey species that were used to hone in on fishing locations, or made their movements difficult to track: "It also impacted us, because, you know, we were trying to keep track of where that feed was, you know. So that was a problem" (BL).

Some individuals mentioned observing the erosive effects of wakes on cultural and natural resources of the foreshore and intertidal zones, and associated nearshore turbidity. Large ship-generated waves were said to have eroded marine invertebrate and plant habitat along shorelines. In turn, sediment from eroded banks was said to impair water quality along certain portions of the shoreline. Bob Loescher, for example, recalls changes in water quality associated with such erosion that affected birds, herring and shrimp at Adam's Inlet and Sealer's Rock:

And it was early years [in the 1970s], they came steaming up there, you know, and caused a whole bunch of waves. And what they were doing, particularly in the Tidal Inlet area and along that shore up there, Adam's Inlet, up to Sealer's Rock area and whatnot...the waves would deteriorate the shore, and that's really important, because the birds, you know, the murrelet and...puffins...they fished and they feed...near the beach, you know, on herring and shrimps and whatever else they could grab, you know. And their home, those birds' homes, is on the cliffs, and the waves would hit the shore and would cause a disturbance in the water and color it. And so, it impacted them (BL).

Interviewees reported that these wakes were also disruptive for a number of culturally significant animal species that nest on or otherwise occupy the shoreline, such as shorebirds and a variety of intertidal organisms. Wakes also increase noise along the shoreline at intervals that do not reflect natural rhythms, with uncertain impacts on these species.

Fish and Wildlife Disturbances

Interviewees expressed concerns regarding cruise ship impacts on a variety of fish and wildlife. A number of the impacts of concern have already been discussed in detail

above, and relate to the historical and contemporary outcomes of exhaust and wastewater discharges, trash dispersal, noise, and wakes. As noted in those sections, it is widely perceived that these impacts potentially contaminate fish and wildlife within Glacier Bay proper. Individuals note that wakes potentially affect sessile species of the intertidal zone, and increased turbidity from wakes compound concerns about water quality impacts on fish. Some also suggest that these impacts affect the movements of mobile species, such as mountain goat, seals, sea otters, seabirds, and various fish. They also potentially affect their survivability; for example, some have expressed concerns that the wakes, noise and other sensory effects of ships disturb mother seals and their pups that are hauled out on icebergs, potentially impacting the health or survival of the offspring. (It is because of these sorts of effects that the NPS closes Johns Hopkins Inlet to vessels during the pupping season.)

The presence of cruise-ships is said to have affected the marine organisms in the Bay in different ways over recent decades. Marine mammals, such as seals and whales, were sometimes said to be “chased” by ships in the early days, and their navigation routes sometimes transected important travel corridors for mammals and fish. Even after more respectful rules of engagement with wildlife were codified, ships still sometimes struck whales, we were told, and ships’ noise could disturb and disorient whales, causing stress and erratic behavior. The presence of some species, such as killer whales, was said to have declined as a result of this stress. The balance has also changed to favor sea lions, which prior to the 1980s were not so prevalent, interviewees suggest, but have increased in numbers due to a combination of factors, including reduced Tlingit sea lion hunting. In past times, sea lions were hunted and “would have respected our space” (EA).

Perhaps most significantly among these impacts on marine organisms, a number of individuals expressed strong concern about inadvertent strikes and other direct disturbances to whales and other marine mammals. Even close approaches to these marine mammals was said to be disruptive and to impair their well-being. As with many other aspects of cruise ship operation, regulations regarding speed and maintaining a safe distance are now in place in an attempt to protect the whales and reduce the chance of a collision. However, interviewees still share accounts of whale strikes. Tom Mills, for example, suggests that whale strikes are still commonplace:

They just plow right up to the whales, so their guests can watch it. I know they’re supposed to stay an ‘x’ number of yards, or quarter of a mile, or someplace from the whales, but they don’t do that. They get right up on them. That’s why you find so many whales dead up there...I found a calf out there by Adolphus when I was going up to Glacier Bay once. It was floating there all bloated. And its mother was still swimming in a big circle around it, making noises with her sonar, sounding like a mad elephant (TM).

Similarly, Marjorie Dick laments the risks to whales' safety in Glacier Bay: "Well, the one [thing] that...made me upset, because there's a lot of whales that come in this little bay area, you know. And they [ships] didn't even move or, you know, just went right on through...not even respecting the animals" (MD). Christine Contreras reports that she was aboard a cruise ship when it hit a whale while going up toward Yakutat. According to Marjorie Dick, the operator failed to report the incident. Unfortunately, similar incidents may go unrecorded. Frank Wright believes whale strikes may be more commonplace than is known: "I mean, everybody's worried about running over a whale. And when a whale is hit, do we all hear about it? Probably not, because there's so many" (FR). These impacts are reported to have increased with time, and are widely seen as a result of not only an increase in cruise ship numbers, but also the increasing scale of these vessels, which reduces their maneuverability. For this reason, whale strikes are seen as a relatively new problem. As Al Martin, a Tlingit fisherman in Glacier Bay, notes, "You know, we never saw a dead whale before. I never seen a dead whale in that area before" (AM).

The historical practice of ships approaching whales and other wildlife for the entertainment of passengers was seen as particularly offensive, as this was disrespectful and placed stresses upon these organisms; still, this practice is not directly relevant to the modern cruise ship industry, as the scale and speed of contemporary ships prohibits this practice. Such concerns, however, may be of relevance to the park in considering the potential ethnographic resource effects of smaller vessels.

In addition to direct and immediately observable cruise ship effects on wildlife, such as whale strikes, there are potentially many more speculated impacts of cruise ship traffic on wildlife in Glacier Bay. For example, some interviewees postulate that the giant ships are adversely impacting whales, not only because of collisions, but also because they are affecting the whales' diets. Al Martin observes,

The only thing I could see is that, you know, Glacier Bay is loaded with krill, which the whales feed on...the krill all congregate in a big mass so the whales can feed on them, and I don't know if it's disrupting the gathering of the krill when the ships go through those big bodies of krill (AM).

Some interviewees report that the "bunching up" of whales in certain areas as they seek to avoid cruise ship traffic. Unusual patterns of movement are now noted, such as the aggregation of large numbers of whales near the head of the Bay. According to Johan Dybdahl, "We hardly ever used to see whales very far up into Glacier Bay back then. It was strange to find whales further and further up, but as time went on we saw

more and more of them" (JD). In turn, these aggregations are said to create unusual new pressures on local ecologies while also creating novel navigational hazards in peripheral parts of the Bay.³³

Crowding, Regulation, and Impacts on Tlingit Boaters

A number of Huna individuals expressed concern regarding the effects of cruise ships on the "crowding" of smaller vessels. This was of particular concern to those families and individuals who have continued to visit Glacier Bay, by boat, for commercial fishing and personal food purposes. In addition to displacing their boats from the main cruise ship lanes, wakes and other considerations require caution, even on the margins of these lanes and navigable waters closer to shore where small boats often prefer to travel. Also, as smaller recreational vessels disperse to less central and accessible portions of Glacier Bay proper to avoid the sights, sounds, smells, and other disturbances associated with the cruise ships, this creates secondary (and perhaps tertiary) crowding in portions of Glacier Bay proper that were, until not long ago, largely devoid of recreational boaters. Cumulatively, this has resulted in crowding and the effective displacement of some Huna users in places well beyond the cruise ship lanes. Compounded by these issues, the regulation of Huna boaters' activities contributes to concerns regarding "regulatory pollution" among some Huna users of Glacier Bay proper.

Similarly, ships' routes were said to have also interfered with commercial fishing sets and trolling pathways, sometimes causing costly damage to fishers' gear. As in the case with terrestrial hunting, these conflicts ultimately resulted in displacement of the Tlingit from favored fishing spaces and seasons, and by 1999, all commercial fishing was being phased out. These impacts have sometimes resulted in significant safety risks too. Frank White has experienced this firsthand: "The cruise ships, they don't care, they run right over your gear. And because it takes it all, it's like running over a thread where the big wheels stick up. Lose a lot of gear" (FW). Commercial fishermen express similar complaints regarding damaged gear. Dennis Gray too recounts how the cruise ships would accidentally run over their long-line gear. He identifies Gilbert Peninsula, in particular, as a place where this had occurred:

Every so often they'd run over our gear. That was the only pet peeve we had there you know...We'd had to anchor it with a buoy and a flag, and every once in a while they'd hook onto it and snap our gear...usually in that area [Gilbert Peninsula], because it kind of narrows down and of course, you would think we'd be out in the shallows, but no, we had to go deeper for halibut. So it was usually right down the middle of the channel. So that's where we'd run into problems. [It didn't happen

often] because when we'd see them, we'd spot them when we were working our gear going up you know. And as long as we're working our gear they'd, you know, stay way off in the distance from us (DG).

George Lindoff also recalls run-ins with cruise ships over by South Marble or Willoughby Islands when he first started halibut fishing: "[We had to] pull in our gear, because a cruise ship wouldn't change his course" (GL). Bob Loescher also describes how cruise ships would inhibit his ability to commercial fish in Glacier Bay by interfering with the set course:

And then the darn things would get in our way when we're, you know, fishing halibut and whatnot. You know, they'd be crisscrossing our pathway. That doesn't happen anymore, because there's only a handful of us left that know where to fish. But those ships, you know, they just stayed on a course, and...we would have to get out of their way rather than the other way around (BL).

As Jeff Skaflestad notes of the impact on gear, gas, and fishermen's schedules, "That's a huge economic impact for fishermen living at the margins" (JS). As commercial fishing has been restricted in Glacier Bay, these effects have declined in Glacier Bay though they continue to factor into fishing activities conducted outside of the park boundary.

Disease Vectors

Paralleling general concerns about the introduction of "impurities," some interviewees expressed concern about the role of cruise ships in introducing diseases into Hoonah and other Tlingit communities. This concern about cruise ships as disease vectors is probably influenced by recent and high-profile cases of norovirus and Legionella outbreaks on cruise ships, but supported by anecdotal accounts of disease incidence in such premier cruise ship ports as Juneau and Sitka. The extent to which this represents an impact relating to Glacier Bay proper is unclear, but the increasing scale of the cruise ship industry generally raises concerns among some individuals about disease vectors within port communities.

Interviewees suggest that cruise ships inadvertently become breeding grounds for many types of illness, some suggest, and each of these ailments may pose a risk to the host populations of southeast Alaska. Carol Williams is troubled by the possibilities:

You know, you have to worry greatly about the cruise ships and what happened. There's thousands of people on a ship, and then you hear

about the illnesses that they carry. That they have flu-like illness, and that hundreds of them have gotten ill (CW).

Other interviewees suggest that the fears may be well warranted. As an example, some mentioned the effects of the quarantined or “red flag” cruise ships that were on their way to Mexico or Acapulco, but were then diverted to Hoonah during the “swine flu” epidemic. As Ernestine Abel recalls:

We had a lot of elders that have backed out of Hoonah, because when they have the red flag days, the ones [cruise ships] that were quarantined would escape as they come into Hoonah. And usually most of our elders were medivac-ed through the winter, because of pneumonia and stuff like that, but there was a real high incidence of our elders getting sick, the workers getting sick. It’s a real sick boat. They come in with a lot of sick people, brand new viruses that we’ve never heard of (EA).

These people potentially exposed Hoonah residents to disease, though such exposures were recognized to be nearly impossible in GBP due to the lack of shore facilities. Huna Totem interpreters might catch illnesses and bring them home, perhaps, but otherwise paths of transmission would be outside of the park—in Hoonah or operations at regional scales, or introduced to other Southeast Alaska towns and diffusing to Hoonah through those communities.

The introduction of potentially sick people in to Glacier Bay creates more abstract forms of dissonance for some individuals, too, as sickness is brought into the core Huna ancestral homeland, a place of perceived purity and cosmological power. It is unclear how this is seen to affect the integrity of TCPs, but tentatively comments from interviewees suggest that this is understood to be a kind of “pollution” of these pristine areas that could compound the other cosmological effects outlined elsewhere in this document.

Intangible Impacts

As discussed previously, Turner et al. (2008) identified a category of impacts on indigenous peoples, their lands and resources that they termed “invisible losses,” which are difficult to recognize, assess and account for in discussions of resource management. These so-called invisible losses, in the case of the Huna and their

relationship to Glacier Bay, can be viewed as intangible impacts and are, in the view of interviewees, often seen as intangible manifestations of “disrespect.” Though intangible, and not easily quantifiable, these impacts can have very real consequences on the Bay and the Huna.



Figure 12: Margerie Glacier as viewed from the water. Among the most sacred landmarks in Glacier Bay, this glacier is understood to embody the spirits of ancestors who did not survive the last glacial advance. The NPS has determined that the glacier, the premier destination in the park for cruise ships, is potentially eligible as a Traditional Cultural Property. Douglas Deur photo.

The following sections review these intangible forms of disrespect, as identified by interviewees, and their impacts on the Huna and their ancestral homeland in Glacier Bay proper.

Disrespect, in its Many Forms

Intangible forms of disrespect are attributed not to the physical outcomes of cruise ships themselves but to the actions and attitudes of those who operate or occupy them as employees and tourists. Disrespect, as defined by Tlingit conventions, has been said

to imply ignorance without the desire to be enlightened, behavior without thought, and derision without shame. Christine Contreras make this point: “I like that people want to know, you know, who we are and stuff. But there are people who come in and just think that it’s a joke kind of thing” (CC). If the impurities introduced into Glacier Bay by cruise ship traffic include such materials as exhaust, trash, and microorganisms that ride into the Bay on boats, they are also said to bring the spiritual impurities of “disruptive, offensive behavior” to the Bay.

When asked to define what disrespect involved and what its effects might be, interviewees spoke of Margerie Glacier, in particular. Visitors to this glacier are said to often be inattentive, wasteful, or raucous. Wanda Culp speaks of her experiences aboard cruise ships that visit Margerie Glacier:

We know on those huge tour ships that should not be allowed in Glacier Bay, just a minimal amount of people care to get out and look at the glacier. The rest of the time, if they’re even there, they’re talking about their blood bank or something really important to them. They don’t see, feel, or hear what’s going on. A lot of times they’re sitting there playing their gambling yet, they got a cocktail in front of them, they’re socializing (WC).

Alice Haldane, who is employed by Huna Totem and works on the large Holland America line, recalls similar experiences while delivering interpretive content on the importance of the glacier:

I noticed there was a lot of people reading, you know, when we were giving our presentation, or when the rangers were giving their presentation. I was walking through the eating area... I went through there, and there were a lot of people sitting in there talking and reading their books and visiting, and they were giving their presentation (AH).

Huna people commonly interpret this inattentiveness as a lack of reverence and respect for the Glacier Bay and its importance to the Tlingit.³⁴

Disrespect in some cases involves traditional prescriptions that would be completely unknown and unknowable to visitors without some orientation, such as traditional prohibitions on casually eating near or pointing at the glaciers. Observing one group of tourists heading out into Glacier Bay, Jeff Skaflestad complained, “they’re going to go up and tramp around in the land of my ancestors; they’re going to eat cheese and point at things and they have no idea” (JS). In Tlingit tradition, such casual activities

would be considered inappropriate, and potentially damaging to both the sacred landmark and the enduring human relationship with it.

While it may represent a “historical impact” rather than a contemporary concern, Huna interviewees widely reported that cruise ship operators formerly blew their ship’s horns in an effort to trigger the calving of glaciers, especially at Margerie Glacier. This allowed a spectacular on-demand show for the visitors onboard, which is said to have been very popular among passengers. Jean Lampe, a Huna interpreter on cruise ships, describes this experience:

There was another incident when we were at Margerie Glacier on one of the big cruise ships...They sounded the horn so loud, I mean, and long. And I don’t know if it caused the glacier to calve. It could have, I don’t know, but the glacier did calve. And you know, everybody standing on the decks, you know, they cheered (JL).

While largely a thing of the past (indeed, the understanding of NPS staff is that this is solely in the past), efforts by ship crews to accelerate the rate of calving for entertainment purposes is discussed here for two reasons: first, it is instructive on how cruise ships intersect with concepts of “respect” at the park’s most sensitive TCP, and second, so that the park might continue to monitor any potential efforts to artificially accelerate glacial calving in the future. Even if these episodes no longer occur, they still significantly shape Huna perceptions of cruise ships and the forms of disrespect that they manifest today.

The artificially accelerated calving of glaciers is of concern, particularly at Margerie Glacier, because it is considered highly disrespectful to the glaciers. Beyond that, it is widely seen as a kind of vandalism that erodes a sacred “property” for reasons that are frivolous and profit-driven. As noted previously, Tlingit conventions demand highly respectful behavior when approaching these glaciers, which are considered a sacred locus of potent and ancestral spirits. In Tlingit tradition, various consequences are suffered if people – visitors included – do not show the proper measure of respect towards the glacier in the Bay. As James Jack reiterates,

Our people are very spiritual. Even the glaciers have a spirit. You know, the advancement of the glacier, way back four hundred years ago or whatever it was, our people believed it was caused by a young woman making fun of the glacier, you know (JJ).

Noisily and deliberately attempting to force glaciers to calve is considered a grave offense that has the potential to cause severe consequences for the perpetrator but also for the people who continue to visit and revere this landscape.

While objectionable for reasons that are cosmological and relate to the broader theme of “respect,” they are also perceived to have potential effects on wildlife and other natural resources of cultural importance. Under natural conditions, calving results in the remodeling of habitat and ecological conditions, interviewees sometimes note, but accelerating that process unnaturally may have unpredictable effects. Thomas Abel discusses this concern in reference to seals,

I’ve been told that they used to blow the horns to force the ice to drop. That confuses the seals. It confuses everything around it. When the ice drops, the animals expect certain things to be happening, and when it’s caused by a ship’s horn, it doesn’t happen (TA).

Ernestine Abel furthers that seal reproduction is one particular, and vital, behavior that could be affected by premature glacier calving. She explains that seals depend on the calving of the glaciers to indicate when pupping season has arrived: “The seals know that when they start calving, that it’s time for them to have babies” (EA). Thus, she suggests, the artificial acceleration of glacial calving, effectively out of sync with natural cycles, might have tangible effects on seals.

There are rumors of continued use of horns for this purpose by a handful of smaller operators. Ernie Hillman, for example, discusses what he speculates to have been the use of ship horns to prompt the calving of glaciers; in this case, the calving caused an injury to one of the passengers, which might be interpreted as partial and immediate cosmological retribution for the display of disrespect:

I’m curious about the one that happened in [Tracey] Arm the other day, where that woman broke her leg or something...A big chunk of ice came down. Of course, the ship was pretty close. That wasn’t one of the big ones, it was one of the smaller one. And it creates a heck of a lot of space that’s all the sudden going down under the water, you know, and that created a great big swell, and that poor little tour boat went rolling away. She fell down and broke her leg. I’m thinking, you know, in order to get something like that to fall, you know, they had to have blown their horn (EH).

A few interviewees suggest that the mere presence of cruise ships – with their engine noise and vibration, their wake (admittedly modest at Margerie Glacier), and their

loudspeakers, may accelerate the rate of calving in the absence of horns. So too, some interviewees express concern about the effect of soot from the ships accelerating calving by reducing albedo and increasing the rate of ice melt. The effects of climate change are also a topic of frequent conversation. All are seen as potentially damaging to the glacier, both mechanically, but also spiritually.

Disrupting Huna Connections to the Bay

There is today a gap in knowledge transmission and experience regarding traditional lifeways among the Huna, and in commonly held understandings of Huna connections to Glacier Bay – among young people in particular. Without a younger generation to carry on Huna customs, many interviewees fear that the traditional Huna way of life will come to an end with the passing of the older generations. If there is no intergenerational flow of knowledge regarding the fundamentals of a culture, that culture will soon die. From this perspective, the means of cultural transmission through “enskilment” (Ingold 2000) experience – the transmission of traditional knowledge, skills and values while on the land – must also be considered in the conservation of cultural values, resources, and culturally significant landscapes. These episodes of enskilment took place especially at those places that are now being considered as potential TCPs. While the effects of cruise ships on the disruption of the intergenerational transmission of culture are often indirect, the various tangible and intangible effects outlined here are often said to contribute to these disruptions as a sort of “secondary effect.” Some suggest that any variable that keeps Tlingit people from using Glacier Bay has cascading cultural effects. As Maureen Obert asserted in 1991 public hearings on fishing rights in Glacier Bay, “Tlingits have always maintained and kept Glacier Bay clean, even before the Park Service came in. Keeping Tlingits out of Glacier Bay is killing our culture” (in Byrne 1991: 6). Disentangling the effects of cruise ships from all of the other challenges to intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge is challenging at best. Yet, if it is indeed true that cruise ships have measurable impacts on this phenomenon, it may be among the more problematic outcomes of cruise ship traffic, deserving deeper consideration in the course of future tribal consultation and compliance by park staff.

Feelings of displacement are most evident in the elder generations of Tlingit people, who once had relatively unfettered access to the lands and resources available in Glacier Bay. Due to the reorientation of human activity and regulation in the Bay to accommodate tourism rather than Native uses of the land, this intimacy with the Bay is said to be lost to the younger generations. Bob Loescher describes how Tlingit people have become disassociated with the Bay in this way:

What is created is a generation of our people who do not know what the
Deur & Thornton – Possible Cruise Ship Impacts on Huna Tlingit Ethnographic Resources in Glacier Bay

Bay is about anymore. And so it's hard for us to teach our children and to show them, show them the way of life, things that we did and do up there, where the natural resources, where the food security, the food stuff is (BL).

For some, the regular circling of cruise ships in and out of Glacier Bay are a constant reminder of the displacement of the Huna Tlingit from their homeland and the fear of an impending cessation of a way of life. For many, cruise ships are powerfully symbolic in this respect, demonstrating to them that the United States government has prioritized the needs of tourists and cruise ships over the interests of Huna people with their ancient and deep ties to the land. Thomas Abel expresses one aspect of this widespread sentiment,

We have hundreds of cruise ships zooming by here every [year], and that creates what I feel is a negative condition of your own self and the ability of your culture to survive...culture is, in my opinion, it's a vision of yourself. You have a vision of yourself, and if you can see that your culture's being crushed like that, it's a crushing impact, in my opinion (TA).

This may have material consequences. Interviewees note that this is in part due to the fact that, the presence of cruise ships simply seems to contribute to families' multivariate decisions to avoid the Bay.

By extension, the sense of Glacier Bay as a "Homeland," is sometimes met with confusion or disinterest by Tlingit youth whose families no longer go there for myriad reasons. Gordon Greenwald recounts his experiences teaching students about Glacier Bay within the schools and their reactions,

In fact, earlier this week I went in and talked with some of the middle school and elementary students, and talking about it as, Glacier Bay, as a homeland area. And to them it's kind of like, 'Homeland? How is it a homeland? I grew up in Hoonah. My home is in Hoonah. My parents told me this is Hoonah. How is that my homeland?'...You know, in some ways it's hard for me to understand, because I'm not experiencing it like they are...So we have some generations of children growing up thinking that Glacier Bay as the homeland, yet, they don't know. They don't know Lituya Bay. They don't know Surge Bay. They don't know Inian Islands. You know, so they don't know T'akdeintaan homelands. And I've talked with them, they don't know, you know, some of these other homelands. They see Glacier Bay as homelands, but then they keep

hearing this is Chookaneidí homelands. And so the T'akdeintaan children are going, 'Where am I?' (GG).

Tlingit youth thus may fail to incorporate Glacier Bay into their identity in the way many elders do. They may also be unable to fully comprehend the importance of the Bay as a resource base, having had almost no opportunity to take part in traditional subsistence harvesting. Thus, for example, many Tlingit children have never tasted seagull eggs, which were once an annual springtime subsistence staple. Melvin Williams recalls a conversation with a Glacier Bay Park official, regarding the reinstated access to the Park to collect seagull eggs,

He said, 'Oh, you can go in there and eat seagull eggs now.' No. My kids never grew up with it, they wouldn't eat it. I would eat it, because I grew up with it, but my kids wouldn't. They wouldn't like the taste...kids would rather go to McDonald's (MW).

While elders continue to seek seagull eggs, they have become foreign cuisine for many Tlingit children. This type of gap in the transmission of knowledge gained by living closely with the land, harvesting resources, and abiding by culturally significant natural resource practices is compounded by the fact that this knowledge is rapidly being lost as elders pass away.³⁵ This leaves a relatively limited pool of knowledge from which future generations can draw upon regarding traditional Tlingit lifeways. James Jack comments on this loss of knowledge within the community,

So there's a few traditional things that have been passed down through the ages that are still practiced, but by far a big majority of it is gone. Some of our elders took so much knowledge to the grave with them. You know with respect to the language, with respect to our medicines, with respect to our traditional practices, you know, seasonal things...I'd say that eighty to ninety percent of those practices are gone (JJ).

Alice Haldane echoes the concern that traditional knowledge is failing to be transferred to younger generations, "This year, we had, what, four people that left us? You know, and these are all our Tlingit speakers, you know. I think we only have about a dozen speakers left. And that's getting scary you know" (AH). Tom Abel goes on to contrast how traditional ways of learning about the environment are being lost among the younger generations, who spend so much less time on the land within their traditional homeland:

I know that when you go sit in the woods and sometimes...you learn stuff. So that's what I see that's going wrong with our people...[Now]



Figure 13: Huna Tlingit youth from Hoonah High School, taking part in the annual NPS-sponsored community boat trip up Glacier Bay. Interviewees suggest that these events have a number of educational benefits for students, but also help to reinforce their associations with Glacier Bay and their pride in their Huna Tlingit heritage. Douglas Deur photo.

they keep us in a little box, and we're not learning about our land. Our kids don't go play in the woods. They don't know why [we] do things" (TA).³⁶

Cruise ships, and the effects of those ships as outlined in this document, are said to be one of several elements contributing to this trend. Interviewees note that ecotourism, including some sort of ship-based tourism in Glacier Bay, also has re-enlivened certain Huna connections with that place and has the potential to do so more into the future. They suggest that to do so, however, ship-based tourism would need to adhere more closely to Tlingit cultural conventions and allow Tlingit people to play a more significant role in structuring both the itineraries and the interpretive content of such

vessels. This will be discussed in more detail elsewhere in the document, including an overview of both the benefits and challenges of interpretive programs involving Huna Totem Corporation.

Commercialization and The Tourist Gaze

A number of individuals expressed concerns regarding the effects of regular exposure to, and scrutiny by, tourists - what has been called by some researchers “the tourist gaze” (Urry 2002) – resulting from cruise ship traffic at Glacier Bay. While there can be positive benefits of tourism’s gaze, and those proud of their culture may even seek it under certain circumstances, it also may have demonstrable deleterious impacts. Some individuals suggested that the scrutiny of cruise ship passengers who witnessed Tlingit ceremonial activities was disruptive to their sanctity and privacy – essential elements to their success.

Similarly, cruise ship passengers who witnessed resource harvesting activities, typically unaware of the larger cultural and historical context of these activities, are believed by some interviewees to have reported these activities as potential violations of park policy (though there is no record of such reports in the NPS records; M.B. Moss, pers. comm. 2014). This is perceived as a type of inadvertent “policing” that has discouraged natural resource harvesting activities close to cruise ship lanes. Cruise ships and other recreational vessels, they suggest, expose traditional resource users to a higher level of visibility and scrutiny – actual or imagined – that discourages use of resources. Cruise ships also displace some smaller vessels to more peripheral parts of Glacier Bay, extending the geographical reach of this effect. “Policing” is a sensitive issue. The fact that there are so many observers in the Bay with so many different expectations raises concerns about a kind of “policing” that is pervasive and invasive. “Huna people want to gather eggs or hunt seal...but people will see and complain...try to turn us in” (JS).

Some interviewees appeared to generally object to the cruise ship industry as a crass commercialization of what they perceive to be a sacred place – the use of sacred space as a “space of merchandise.” Certain individuals see this as implicitly disrespectful. However, not all impacts were said to be negative. Some individuals noted that port communities raise the potential for positive associations with the “tourist gaze,” such as in places where Tlingit have control of interpretive content regarding their history, culture, and homeland. Some spoke of the success of the Icy Strait Point development in Hoonah as a source of economic stability and interpretive opportunity relating to the cruise ship industry. Icy Strait Point was identified as a unique opportunity to build empathy, respect, and understanding, but the cruise ship schedules complicate this. “The original intent was to be the Gateway to Glacier Bay...that was how it was

sold to us” (JS). In its early years, Hoonah Indian Association and Huna Heritage Foundation worked collaboratively to develop an in-depth and culturally appropriate set of programs for tourists, emphasizing Tlingit perspectives on history, natural resources, and culture. Some of these exhibits had to be scrapped or modified, however, including a historical walking tour at Icy Strait Point that led visitors through exhibits with live actors depicting the harsher side of missionary and educational activities, including the forceful prohibition of Tlingit customs and language. Such exhibitions were not considered economically viable and some interviewees suggest that the content was perhaps too detailed or “hard-hitting” to be popular with some tourists. Clearly, the “tourist gaze” is selective, seeking out exotic cultural displays while being reluctant to engage some of the more painful and difficult aspects of community history.

Inappropriate Interpretation

Interpretation presents many outstanding opportunities to mitigate negative impacts resulting from cruise ship traffic in Glacier Bay, and these opportunities will be discussed, at length, later in the document. As many interviewees note, these interpretive programs provide unique opportunities to instill the respect that Huna feel is required for a visit to Glacier Bay. As Jean Lampe explains of her own interpretive presentations: “I tried [to] talk about respect in the beginning, reciprocity, balance, and I would move to what do you call it, like social structure, you know, Eagle, Raven and a break-down [of how we relate to each-other and the land]” (JL).

Unfortunately, while interpretation has this potential, interpretive programs relating to the Bay have also been contentious in times past, and are sometimes viewed as another intangible forms of “disrespect,” whether intentional or not. Many interviewees who either participate in cruise ship interpretation or have witnessed programs in some capacity commented on the challenges associated with promoting a respectful atmosphere towards Glacier Bay and the Huna people during the course of an interpretive program.

One of the issues that interviewees spoke of regarding “disrespect” surrounding interpretation relates to what some Tlingit interviewees describe as interpretation that has historically eliminated the human story from accounts shared with visitors by cruise ship staff or onboard NPS interpreters. Interviewees note that NPS employees have had a presence aboard cruise ships, presenting the environmental mechanisms of Glacier Bay during much of the period of active NPS interpretation on cruise ships. During much of this period, prior to the addition of Tlingit interpreters roughly a decade ago, the history of human occupation in the Bay was said to be completely absent from interpretive presentations. According to Johann Dybdahl,

All they had was the park service, and they were imparting knowledge about the studies that were done on the retreat of the glaciers, and look at this and look at that. But it was as if there were no people there ever (JD).

As Huna became more active in the interpretation of the landscape, some Huna felt that some park service employees had a difficult time transitioning toward a representation of Glacier Bay that included the Tlingit story. While Huna interviewees report that most NPS interpreters are receptive to Huna content and eager to incorporate it into interpretive programs, this is not universally the case. Wanda Culp describes one park employee who she encountered during her employment by the NPS as an interpreter on a cruise ship, saying “She didn’t want to admit it [Tlingit presence in the Bay]. I can’t remember her name, but she resented me being there, and she wanted to hang onto that knowledge that we were never present there” (WC). On this note, interviewees often commented that they wished to see the NPS continue to exercise or even expand local hiring authorities for management and interpretive staff—even for seasonal staff; this allows not only better recruitment of Huna interpreters, but also of non-Native interpreters who are deeply familiar with local people, local landscapes, and Tlingit history: “you need someone who is of the place” (AN).

The presentation of the Huna Tlingit cultural component, as well as the presence of Huna Tlingit interpreters aboard these ships is a relatively new addition—emerging in the late 1990’s. While this program has generally been a success, some interviewees who have worked as interpreters suggest that they have still been under pressure to limit the cultural presentations to a range of topics that strike them as restrictive. Ernestine Abel was asked to be an interpreter for a cruise line but declined the offer due to the restrictions: “I asked the requirements and they want me to be totally tame. I can’t go out of boundaries talking about certain subjects...Anything political [in the presentation was forbidden].” Topics such as Tlingit frictions with the NPS over access, for example, are said to be restricted. Some suggest that these limitations result in a false representation of the Huna experience.³⁷

Similarly, several Huna interviewees expressed frustration about interpretive programs that discuss the Tlingit aboard cruise ships in the absence of Tlingit people or protocols. Some of this concern centers principally on matters of content. Frank O. Williams also describes an instance where elders were outraged at park service employees for discussing Tlingit culture during a boat tour into Glacier Bay hosted by NPS employees,

We had three or four elders really getting upset, because they were really upset about what the park service people were saying about us. So I...go on deck and I said, ‘You can talk about your studies about the glacier or

the animals or whatever, but don't say anything about our people, they're really getting offended downstairs.' But we worked that out (FW).

Also, according to the Tlingit traditional ownership philosophy, *at.óowu*, knowledge (histories, stories, etc.) must be attributed to the proper owner – in this case, the clans from whom the oral history has been obtained. To disregard the owner is a measure of disrespect. When the NPS integrates Tlingit information into presentations on the cruise ships without acknowledging their sources or traditional protocols on the ownership of clan knowledge, this is sometimes seen as offensive,

And you know what? They started to do some [of] our stuff. Park service started to talk about Tlingits in Glacier Bay. Which we thought that, 'Hey that belongs to us...they shouldn't be doing that,' you know...I mean, if we weren't going to be onboard, then fine, they could explain what knowledge they had of it, you know. But if we're onboard, then that should be our territory (JJ)

The brevity of cultural presentations aboard the cruise ships also places tight restrictions on the imparting of historical information and, in turn, the ability to instill "respect" in visitors. Scheduling sometimes results in limited attendance too. Alice Haldane, for example, discusses how scheduling on the Holland America cruise ships could impact the size and/or attention of her audience while presenting her interpretive program:

[The auditoriums] hold anywhere from probably at most in some of the bigger ships, six to eight hundred. And then there was days where I only had twenty five people in that...the time of my presentation varied on the ships, you know. One morning they'll get me on at eight o'clock in the morning, so there's not going to be anybody there! Because they're all [at] breakfast or sleeping late. And the next time, they'll have me just before we get to the glacier, and once again there'll be hardly anybody in there to hear my presentation, because they're all outside looking at the glacier, you know.... I don't know how this is, came about you know, but the park service get the first shot at giving their presentation, you know. And we're kind of secondary as to time (AH).

Aside from time constraints associated with presenting after the park service, there are other challenges to Huna interpreters who participate in on-board NPS presentations. Tlingit interpreters generally present their cultural orientation directly after the NPS

employees speak about the physical environment within Glacier Bay. James Jack describes how the Huna interpreters feel that they have to compete for the attention of the passengers following these presentations, or while passing the dramatic scenery of Glacier Bay:

When we're out on the deck, it's kind of a different setting, because you have your park service, there explaining the natural, the glacier and the vegetation and stuff. And it seems to me that the people were more interested in that as opposed to the history of the Tlingit people, because they wanted to know how many a times a day does the ice calve, you know and those kinds of things (JJ).

Some of these issues associated with interpretation aboard cruise ships may be unfounded perceptions and some certainly may have arisen unintentionally. However, the view that the NPS is restricting the potential impact of Tlingit cultural programs on the public, correct or not, is a cause for concern for some Huna, who want the significance of their connection to their ancestral homeland conveyed in terms of their own choosing. Huna interviewees felt that, by not allowing the Tlingit interpreters the opportunity to present their story in ways that are consistent with Huna expectations, the NPS also displays a lack of respect for the Huna and their relationship to Glacier Bay.³⁸ Arguably, given the significance of Glacier Bay as a cultural property, traditional protocols of engaging the Bay and its ancestral spirits, and traditional views of the potential negative impacts of disrespectful behavior, it is understandable that Tlingits would seek to give a cultural orientation to their homeland to all cruise ship passengers at the time of entry to the Bay.

In contrast, the Huna Tlingit have been able to carve out their own interpretive programs and spaces at Icy Strait Point, although the focus of these programs is largely on commercial fishing and cannery history. Important in this effort is the interpretive program at Icy Strait Point. As many interviewees noted, Icy Strait Point has allowed certain interpretive opportunities that are uniquely under Huna control, and may eventually lead to a more complete exposure of cruise ship passengers to Huna culture and history.³⁹

Interpretation aboard small tour boats also has allowed Huna interpreters more latitude in the scale and scope of the message shared with park visitors, and allowed interpreters to impart "respect" more effectively than might be possible aboard the large cruise ships. Alice Haldane, for example, has worked as an interpreter on the smaller, catamaran-based tours run by Cruise West and on the larger cruise ships. She explains how on the Cruise West boats she had more control, time and personal connection than aboard a large cruise ship: "On the Cruise West boat too, that's different, you know...better" (AH).

Perspectives on the Economic Effects of Cruise Ships

Beyond the effects outlined above, the cruise ship industry also has a variety of impacts on the economy of Huna Tlingit and the community of Hoonah. This is especially true as a result of the development of Icy Strait Point by Huna Totem Corporation. Many interviewees agree that the influx of tourists during the cruise ship season brings a welcome opportunity for employment in Hoonah. Employment opportunities are always welcome and can be difficult to find in many Alaska towns, with their cyclic resource-based economies. Long ago, the Huna Tlingit were largely immune to these fluctuations, relying so much on subsistence harvesting and fishing that continued year-round, except during periods of environmental disturbance. Unfortunately, very few Tlingit fishermen are now able to maintain profitable operations due to the cost of boats, gear, fuel and permits, as well as increasingly restrictive licensing, regulations and other restrictions. As Floyd Peterson notes,

I can see where it's getting tougher and tougher for the next generation. For instance, just to get into hand trolling – when I started hand trolling, we didn't need to permit. We could fish 365 days a year and come and go as we pleased. If you had any kind of a little jumper boat with a ten horse kicker on it, you could go out and make, well fifty, sixty bucks a day, you know whatever. And now you got to have thousands just to get the permit and the license, and then your seasons are restricted, you know. It's just getting tougher and tougher for the locals, the younger generation to get involved in the fishery (FP).

The close of Glacier Bay to commercial fishing – now considered incompatible with the scientific and tourism missions of the park – with no effective replacement economy for Huna within Glacier Bay (other than employment of a few interpreters on cruise ships), suggests that Glacier Bay cruise ships – in contrast perhaps to those at Icy Strait Point – have some responsibility for negative economic impacts on Huna people.

With the severe challenges facing commercial fishing and other resource industries, and the continued decline of subsistence harvesting, Huna people must look elsewhere for employment. In this light, Icy Strait Point has provided a rare sort of stability, allowing Hoonah to benefit from the tourist industry associated with the major cruise ship lines traveling through Southeast Alaska. This allows people to work from home and in a considerably less risky environment than traditional resource industries, though often at lower wages than was found in those industries. The work is safe enough that young people and the elderly can participate in various ways. Indeed, operations such as wildlife tours for cruise ship passengers, originating from Icy Strait

Point, allow people to draw on skills learned in the resource industries. For example, fishermen, such as Floyd Peterson, are able to utilize their knowledge of the area, honed through years of fishing nearby waters, to operate whale watching tours and other types of excursions,

We have cruise ships in Hoonah, here, now, and to my notion it's a blessing, because in my retirement, I'm taking tourists out whale watching. And it's very lucrative operation. I call it my semi-retirement plan. But it also helps the community, because they employ a hundred or so Tlingit people out of Hoonah down there at Icy Strait Point, cruise ship facility (FP).

In addition to allowing for stable employment, these programs allow Huna people to instill an understanding and respect for their culture that is very difficult to achieve in other tourist venues. As Johan Dybdahl explains, programs such as the native dance and theatre program allow visitors to engage Tlingit culture in a way that is at once entertaining and educational, helping to build empathy and respect:

Like our program there [at Icy Strait Point] is interactive. They actually have them dance. They all have a very clear understanding of how our society was laid out. They've taken a card [participating guests receive an honorary clan card upon arrival], and they become one of the members of the clan. They dance when the time is appropriate. And they just come away with a much better feeling (JD).

Like the resource industries, however, this employment is seasonal and typically insufficient to support families year-round. Employees, shopkeepers and craftspeople associated with Icy Strait Point must often find other sources of income in the winter months especially. Some express concern that this is not sustainable, and that it creates a sort of economic dependency upon cruise ship tourism that is untenable and potentially risky on the long-term. Interviewees such as Tom Abel perceive this as a negative impact:

I see that in some instances it [employment by the cruise ship lines] can be positive to some people, but I feel that overall, that it's not, because if I really wanted to be poor working at Icy Strait Point, I mean I could work 35 days a year. How do I stay alive? You can't make living 35 days a year. Even H&R Block can't do that. And if you take those 35 days, I mean, the summer season, you have eliminated yourself from at least 35 days of subsistence harvest. So you're actually unwittingly or

unknowingly creating more of a negative impact than an overall positive impact (TA).

So too, Carol Williams expresses concern that this arrangement brings as many costs as it does benefits to the Hoonah community:

I understand the need for economic...development, that the tourist season brings something to the community, but at the same time is it worth the price? I wonder if it is worth the price. We have to look at our children and what they would want for their future, and if those eyes are looking at us, and we let them down, we've let them down (CW).

The economic realities of this cruise ship-based tourism are problematic in other ways as well. Some interviewees also suggest that the amount of capital required to open a shop at Icy Strait Point is prohibitive for traditional craftspeople.⁴⁰ And many interviewees also noted their belief that the cost of living had increased in Hoonah, as the prices in stores were adjusted upward to reflect the market pressures of comparatively wealthy out-of-town visitors. George Lindoff notes:

The tourist thing affected this town though, too, because the price in all the stores went up...It's year-round now, the prices are higher. So some of us will, we get paid just take off for Juneau on a ferry. Thirty dollars go buy groceries and have a little relaxation and come back, start all over again (GL).

The matter of selling traditional Tlingit crafts in a tourist setting also raises a range of concerns for Huna people, typical to many other "ethnotourism" operations, relating to the appropriateness of commercialization. Some images and crests are considered the possession of individual clans, of course, but there are also concerns that the sale of such items trivializes the culture or dispenses its intellectual property too freely. Some note that working as an interpreter aboard the few cruise lines that offer cultural interpretation presents a unique conflict within those who accept the position, a reconciliation between being "on-display" and purposefully conveying knowledge. Gordon Greenwald tries to explain this inward struggle:

That's the dichotomy that I, personally, deal with in with Icy Strait Point and that situation down there. And I know others that are even participating in the programs down there, wrestle with, am I part of the show or am I part of the learning? (GG).

Further, some interviewees expressed concern regarding what is included in cultural demonstrations that are part of the interpretation on boats. Tom Abel describes the conflict between the cultural intent behind Tlingit dancing and the largely non-Native audiences for which it is now performed:

I've always had a hard time with our dancing and our culture being put on display, and because that's not what it's for. It's supposed to be for us. It's supposed to be reinforcing our world...it's supposed to reinforce our culture. It's supposed to perpetuate our culture. It's not supposed to be a show-and-tell for cruise ships (TA).

Not surprisingly, the nature of the audience impacts the nature of the dance, and risks turning a ceremonial act into mere entertainment.

Accordingly, as a Tlingit artist, Gordon Greenwald has largely chosen to avoid selling crafts at Icy Strait Point, only selling his works occasionally:

I sell very little of my Native artwork, because I don't want it to be for show...I want it to have some meaning to it. And so if it's for show, I'll do the trinket stuff. Well, I find no joy in doing that, and financially I don't need it. So why do it? But, and that's just my own personal [view]—I can get away with it that way. But I know those that are like that, that financially have to do it. And there's, they're wrestling with that. And I don't blame them (GG).

The impacts that the cruise ship industry has on the local economy are significant and complex. As cruise ships are sometimes said to have contributed to declines in traditional resource harvesting, they have also opened possibilities—limited and often imperfect possibilities, but possibilities all the same—into Hoonah and other communities of southeast Alaska. It seems certain that, so long as cruise ships continue to ply the waters of southeast Alaska, Tlingit people will seek ways to realize some economic benefit from the presence of cruise ships while seeking to contain the various “negative externalities” of the cruise ship industry within their homeland.

MINIMIZING AND MITIGATING ADVERSE EFFECTS OF CRUISE SHIPS ON GLACIER BAY’S “INTEGRITY”

As has been suggested throughout this document, Glacier Bay plays a fundamental role in the lives and history of the Tlingit people. Glacier Bay is the homeland of the Huna Tlingit, and remains a source of traditional food harvests, and a place of unique cultural, historical, and spiritual significance. These cultural and historical values are especially, though not exclusively, concentrated in those parts of the park designated as potential TCPs. As such, maintaining the integrity of Glacier Bay is of utmost importance to the Huna people. And, by virtue of the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act, the NPS must consider the effects of park management on the integrity of both these landscapes and Huna peoples’ relationships to them. As part of this process, the NPS is mandated to consider actions or alternatives that might allow the NPS to minimize or mitigate adverse effects upon these types of “integrity.” In order to preserve the integrity of this place, both the tangible and intangible effects of cruise ships—as overviewed in the prior section—should be considered. These might be integrated into current planning to address effects of existing cruise ship operations retroactively, and would certainly be integral to any discussion of increases in cruise ship vessel numbers into the future. Some of the tangible effects are relatively simple to address in a planning context, while the intangible effects may present more challenging questions. How does an agency, for example, “mitigate disrespect” that might be shown to the landscape by visitors? There are no simple answers to such questions. Still, the comments of Huna interviewees and the findings of the current study suggest alternatives that might aid the NPS in a search for answers and for management options. The following sections point toward certain options, provided by interviewees, for minimizing and mitigating both tangible and intangible effects of cruise ship traffic.

All this being said, and in spite of some of the economic advantages of cruise ship tourism, Tlingit interviewees generally expressed a desire to not have cruise ship numbers increase within Glacier Bay. Melvin Williams’ comments represent the general mood:

I wouldn’t want to see it stop, but I sure would hate to see it increase any more...I would be very concerned about that, because I feel like the definite impact on [those times when there is] one a day; they’re going to double the impact, the stress impact on all the animals in there by two a day (MW).

Such views were widespread among interviewees, and suggest the need for the careful consideration of cultural effects, as well as the high bar for tribal consultation, in the event that an increase in cruise ship numbers is considered for Glacier Bay proper.

Minimizing and Mitigating Tangible Effects

Many of the effects of cruise ships reported by Huna interviewees were what might be termed “tangible” effects. These are effects that can be readily seen and measured by observers, whether or not they are Huna – effects such as noise, pollution, and wakes. Still, in reviewing this overview of concerns that were regularly expressed by Huna interviewees, it is important to bear in mind that these tangible effects – while perhaps important in themselves – are of amplified significance to many Huna because of their “intangible” qualities – such as the ways in which they manifest or symbolize larger historical trends such as “displacement,” “disrespect” and so forth. In this light, wakes are seen as problematic in part because they represent one of many obstacles to continued use of the Huna homeland; even minor pollution is often seen as a striking example of “disrespect” even if its biological effects might be minor. For this reason, all discussion of “tangible effects” is refracted through a uniquely Huna cultural lens. So too, remediation of seemingly simple effects such as trash dispersal may require engaging more than just the trash, but a constellation of issues that affect the ways that Huna people think about these instances of cruise ship effects. These larger associations and implications will be addressed in later sections on intangible effects.

Monitoring and Reducing Air, Water and Noise Pollution

Almost uniformly, interviewees expressed the view that the cruise ship industry and the NPS need to work together to limit sources of air, water and noise pollution. Many called for more stringent protections than those currently in place; some expressed the view that any increase in vessel numbers was unacceptable unless these pollution sources were more effectively contained. As Carol Williams comments,

So if you were to have stricter regulations about making every effort to keep the area pollution free, that is probably the very best thing that I could do for the future generations. I’m not saying, ‘I don’t want cruise ships.’ I’m saying, ‘Let’s have rules’ (CW).

As discussed in the previous section, exhaust emitted by cruise ships creates visual disturbances to culturally significant viewsheds, but is also understood to have adverse effects upon the “purity” of the Bay and the health of plants and animals used

in ceremony and for food, medicines and materials. Some interviewees suggest that they would like to see emissions from cruise ships eliminated altogether, through either reductions in boat numbers, operating guidelines that reduce exhaust emissions, or specific technological measures that might reduce or eliminate emissions. As Frank Wright notes, these sorts of methods can have material effects:

Well you know, when I talk about Glacier Bay, I talk about Icy Straits and all this area you know, and you see a cruise ship that comes in here, you know and you see them still discharging all that smoke, you know, and I always pride myself on the Vagabond Queen that we went – once we start running, and then there's no smoke. You know, so to me...I would rather have them not being able to discharge any smoke, but it's there (FR).

In this light, a number of interviewees recommended monitoring of pollutants within Glacier Bay as part of an assessment of cruise ship effects, including the presence of pollutants in plants and animals along the shoreline. There are also concerns about the effects of air pollution on the integrity of the glaciers – both contaminating them and perhaps accelerating melting. As interviewees such as Ken Grant point out, the accumulated effect of the air pollutants on glaciers is still unknown. He would like further exploration of the true effect of smoke on the glaciers within the Bay: “Well, I would continue to monitor the stacks, you know, the emissions and see if it has any impact on the glaciers, where it changes the albedo of the ice” (KG).

In addition to emissions, Tlingit interviewees expressed a desire to have noise pollution reduced somehow. This may involve guidelines regarding the operation of vessel engines, as well as perhaps expanding the existing restrictions on the use of loudspeakers – especially in the vicinity of the proposed TCPs. Ongoing studies within the park are assessing the extent of noise pollution; interviewees often expressed support for such monitoring, and suggested that this should be an ongoing effort that might continue beyond the current vessel planning process.

Another form of noise pollution mentioned by interviewees is that which the tourists create themselves. Especially near Margerie Glacier, respectful decorum is said to involve relative silence. Alice Haldane explains that,

especially on the Cruise West, you know, when we go into the inlets, small little inlets, you know, they tell the people before we go outside, ‘Once you get outside, you know, make sure when you’re coming out, don’t slam the door, don’t throw anything overboard, and talk very quiet, because the bears and everything else that’s out there can hear you (AH).

In this light, a few individuals suggested providing admonitions to cruise ship passengers to remain relatively silent while at the base of the glacier, perhaps as part of the cultural interpretation aboard those ships.

Interviewees expressed almost uniform interests in having any releases of trash or liquid pollutants (such as wastewater, bilge water, and oil) fully contained within Glacier Bay. While releases of these materials are prohibited by NPS regulations, interviewees note ample opportunity for inadvertent releases. Some suggested rigorous monitoring of water quality to assess and quickly remedy possible releases, and proposed that the cruise ship industry consider various extra precautions to ensure no releases of liquid contaminants while in the Bay. Some individuals also supported measures to contain inadvertent trash disposal such as more effective enforcement of the restrictions on disposable cup use aboard cruise ships – an approach that has been reported to reduce trash in recent years, but may not always be enforced aboard ships entering the Bay. Active monitoring of shoreline trash was advised occasionally as a way of improving the efficacy of these efforts.

Reducing Speeds and Wakes

In addition to air, water and noise pollution, Tlingit interviewees expressed a desire to reduce the effect of cruise ship wakes – especially at popular resource harvesting places, such as Marble Island, and at other TCP eligible sites along the shoreline. The scale of wakes is, interviewees suggest, proportional to the hazards to small boats or people on the shoreline, as well as the erosion and other shoreline effects outlined in prior sections. Cruise ship impacts on whales and wildlife are also widely suggested to be proportional to the speed of these vessels; whales and other wildlife, they contend, are able to more effectively maneuver around slow-moving vessels. So too, slower vessels are noted to be less of a hazard to small vessels operating in the Bay, including but not limited to those operated by Huna Tlingit visiting the Bay. While many of the vessel effects outlined in this document (such as pollution) are associated with all types of watercraft, the hazards associated with cruise ships and their wakes is described as somewhat singular due to their singular scale.

Cruise ship schedules generally require vessels to move at the maximum allowed speed up Glacier Bay – typically 13 knots. In recent times, there have been temporary restrictions to 10 knots in whale waters; some interviewees expressed a desire to see those speed restrictions become permanent. Indeed, a few suggest that even slower speeds are required to safely navigate the Bay and minimize the adverse effects of wakes, navigational hazards, and wildlife strikes. Some interviewees go so far as to suggest that cruise ships should be barred from certain areas during periods of peak

natural resource harvests or whale presence to minimize the effects on Huna resource users and wildlife.

Increases in vessel numbers, some suggest, would only compound existing hazards to Huna use of the Bay, as well as the integrity of places and resources of cultural significance to the Huna, unless vessel speeds decline generally within the Bay and/or certain periods are set aside in this matter.

Temporary Vessel Restrictions to Protect Cultural Activities and Resources

Some interviewees suggested that the park service should work with resource harvesters to coordinate temporary closures to cruise ship traffic. Frank White suggests that longline fishing boats, crab boats and cruise ships should have separate seasons, most likely due to safety measures,

They should shut down halibut fishing if the cruise ships are going to come in...They can coordinate that. When the cruise ships come, no long-lining in there at all, or crabbing. And then if the crab season is up, no cruise ship (FW).

Some suggested temporary closures might be timed to facilitate Huna resource use and cultural activities in the absence of cruise ships. Lily White, for example, suggests marked seasons specifically structured for the purpose of resource harvesting: "It would be nice if they had seasons for it, you know, when Huna people can go in and resume, get what they need and stuff" (LW). Similarly, citing the danger from wakes and other effects, interviewees such as Tom Mills suggest that cruise ships be banned altogether from the Marble Island area during the seagull egg-gathering season as a safety precaution, saying,

we don't care if they see us doing everything. The only thing we worry about is there's no beaches or anything on Marble Island and stuff, and when we have our little skiffs over there, they're usually up against the rocks...and when a cruise ship comes cruising by over there, they leave a big wake that will put your skiff either way up on a rocks or put it under water (TM).

Similar to these suggestions regarding ship restrictions to facilitate Huna cultural and food gathering activities, some interviewees suggested seasonal closures as a means to reduce negative effects on wildlife generally. When asked if Glacier Bay should be

closed to cruise ships at any time of the year, Melvin Williams responded, “I think early spring, like April, May, is a bad time to go in there, because you know traditionally breeding ground [for birds, bears and goats]” (MW). Interviewee, Sam Hanlon, also identified May as a prime time of the year for seal pupping and indicated that cruise ship traffic may need to be moderated during that period, even beyond existing restrictions. Restrictions already exist to protect whale waters, interviewees note, but these are sometimes difficult to enforce and also sometimes difficult to substantiate to small vessel operators.⁴¹

In a similar way, some interviewees expressed a desire to restrict cruise ship access to parts of Glacier Bay when ceremonies, social events, or food gathering activities are underway, in order to maintain a respectful atmosphere. As discussed previously, when ships are present, the Huna Tlingit (and indeed, other park visitors such as kayakers) are subject to the “tourist gaze,” whether it is invited or not. Tlingit resource harvesters expressed a measure of resignation at being unrestricted subjects of tourists’ photographs. According to George Lindoff, it was a common occurrence for cruise ship passengers to photograph Tlingit people who were fishing the Bay, “You see them all taking pictures when we were working” (GL). Veronica describes a similar situation that occurred during an annual school trip, when Huna people became the focal point of a cruise ship:

We were passing the ship, and they were all waving, and you could see some trying to take pictures...I don’t know what they were able to get a picture of, but they were trying to get some pictures of us, because the kids were, they were just in heaven (VD).⁴²

While many interviewees are accustomed to – though frustrated by – this type of tourist behavior during routine outings and harvesting trips, they suggest that it is especially disruptive and disrespectful during ceremonial events. This is particularly of concern at the base of Margerie Glacier. As Gordon Greenwald notes, “They could negatively impact us wherever we are in the Bay if we’re trying to do something and they happen to go cruising by, you know” (GG). Interviewees note that a variety of National Parks have addressed this issue with temporary visitor restrictions, such as restrictions at Devil’s Tower National Monument during traditional ceremonies, and wish to see similar approaches at Glacier Bay. Ken Grant suggested that even single-day vessel restrictions, organized to allow private ceremonial practices, might alleviate some of these concerns:

I know Death Valley has written into their law where they would close off certain areas where sacred rituals were happening, so they could have their time. And that could happen. It would be only one day a year you know, just a short time, maybe scheduling or something (KG).

Such limitations might be relatively easy to accommodate if planned sufficiently far in advance and built into the cruise ship schedules for Glacier Bay, helping to reduce the adverse effects of the “tourist gaze” during these important cultural activities. These effects may be uncommon, but they are nonetheless reported to be a point of recurring concern among this study’s interviewees.

Minimizing and Mitigating Intangible Impacts

Fostering Huna Use and Youth Education in Glacier Bay

As suggested previously in this document, the plethora of cruise ships impacts, large and small, are widely seen by Huna interviewees as contributing to their displacement from Glacier Bay. The extent to which cruise ships might be independently responsible for this displacement is debatable, and exceedingly difficult to measure with precision. Concepts such as “exclusion” and “access” arguably have different thresholds and connotations between the Huna and many NPS employees, and cruise ships fit into this equation in complex ways. However, the fact that cruise ships are perceived as having this effect remains, and is indisputable. Moreover, many feel that the absence of a Tlingit presence within the Bay compromises the health of the Huna, the landscape, and the living beings in the Bay – thus jeopardizing the “integrity” of TCPs within Glacier Bay. Any effort that helps to maintain Huna ties with the Glacier Bay landscape helps to sustain or even repair the integrity of the land and the culture. In the words of Ken Grant,

I think it’s very, very important [that the Huna people have access to Glacier Bay]. You know, and I’ve read a paper about the connection that our people have with food, the traditional food, berries, even the seal and the mountain goat. There’s a tie there...and place, everything fits in, you know. It’s important that access is really, it’s a good step, a really good step to have – when the Tlingit [will] be able to come in (KG).

For many interviewees, the only proper way to minimize or mitigate the effects of cruise ships within Glacier Bay would be to restore these connections, as well as some measure of the “host” and land stewardship responsibilities to Tlingit people. This, some suggest, might include the increased integration of Tlingit knowledge into resource planning in the park – not only for cultural resources, but also for natural resources. More fundamentally, many interviewees express desire for more flexibility

on the part of the NPS in allowing Huna to utilize the Bay for traditional resource harvesting. As James Jack says, “I’m commending the park service for taking care of our land, you know. They just need to be a little more understanding and let us do some of the things that we want to do” (JJ). Park status is not necessarily questioned by many Huna, but they still wish for greater freedom to interact with their ancestral homeland and to utilize resources of cultural significance within the boundaries of the park and preserve.



Figure 14: Ken Grant teaches Hoonah youth about Tlingit place names and history relating to Glacier Bay during a community boat trip into Glacier Bay proper. Many interviewees spoke of the importance of formal educational events that teach Tlingit historical and cultural knowledge to tribal youth. Many also spoke of the importance of those few individuals, Grant among them, who are associated with both the NPS and Hoonah and who can serve as a bridge between the two communities. Douglas Deur photo.

Many interviewees also feel that allowing the Tlingit to return to their original gathering areas within the Bay, according to their own schedules and to their accustomed places, would foster cultural connectivity, enskilment, and a sense of stewardship in the Tlingit youth – thus fostering enduring knowledge of the TCPs within the Bay and survival of Tlingit culture. Many interviewees spoke of a “cultural amnesia” that is said to be growing among the Huna youth, and these interviewees feel that increasing Huna access to Glacier Bay would work to combat this lack of connectivity to the Bay. In the process, these activities might help maintain the “integrity of relationship” between the Huna people and the specific TCPs identified within Glacier Bay proper.

The annual school trips sponsored by the NPS afford valued educational opportunities, but most if not all interviewees want to see these opportunities grow. Especially in the last decade, the NPS has been making great efforts to facilitate increased opportunities for the Huna people to access Glacier Bay in the form of the school trip, but also annual trips for berry picking and other food harvesting activities.⁴³ During the school trips, elders are aboard the boat and offer geographical orientation as well as oral history and instruction in traditional protocol. Many interviewees regard these annual school trips as an opportunity for students to “go back,” to return to a homeland they’ve never truly become acquainted with, and to regain a sense of Tlingit identity and cultural pride. As Carol Williams explains,

Now there are placename maps and people – the children know where they came from and they know the stories. They have... a deeper sense of who they are, and that’s kind of nice that that was given to them. My educator was my parents. And I think to have it in their school setting, where all of the children are, and then accepted here is a very good idea. So I know that there have been kayaking trips and camping trips and explorations there. I know that they had some food gathering events and cultural events and that there are plans for a longhouse now. And all those things are, you know, wonderful that there’s more of an ownership to the Glacier Bay area (CW).

Similarly, Dennis Gray notes,

I think I made one trip. And at first the kids...couldn’t understand our feelings, because it always has such a powerful effect on us when we enter that bay. And it’s real emotional for us. And once we start telling...our stories, now they understand, and now it’s affecting them, because they know, they realize...how much it means to us (DG).

Annual boat trips function as a teaching tool, a means to acquaint Tlingit children with cultural and ceremonial activities that they may have only understood abstractly beforehand. For example, most Tlingit children are aware of the story of Kaasteen, but few have had the opportunity to directly engage this powerful part of their shared history and ceremonial tradition. Gordon Greenwald shares his experiences as a culture bearer aboard one of these excursions into Glacier Bay, saying,

when I talked with the students this week before we went, they truly, up through the eighth grade truly, the majority of them didn't understand the purpose of putting food in the water. What were we doing with food in the water? What was the purpose of tobacco? Why were we doing that? They've heard of Kaasteen but...many of them had heard versions of the Kaasteen story, but really, truly, what is it? ...the kids, to me, responded culturally, so moving...You could see when they wanted to sing and dance for hours. Why? They don't do it here. They don't just get together and sing and dance here. And they could [on the Glacier Bay trip]. They're all the same kids that are here. And they are together every day during the school year. And most every day, some of them are together in the summers, but they don't. So why? They know it's special. You know, and then they're there with the elders too... doing this is a positive [thing] (GG).⁴⁴

NPS-sponsored youth backcountry trips were also mentioned as valuable, in-depth learning experiences that built on the education developed on the boat trip as well as in the preparations and debriefings for those trips in their school in Hoonah.⁴⁵ Some interviewees strongly advocate increasing the number or duration of these youth trips, perhaps as a way of offsetting the negative effects of cruise ship traffic and other forces that limit Huna use of Glacier Bay.

A few interviewees noted that the large annual school trip on the catamaran tour boat does not allow for young people to get out onto the land, but that they needed to have a certain amount of "land-based" activities for their trips to be meaningful. Smaller school trips, such as kayak-based backcountry trips, do provide those opportunities but cannot accommodate the same number of tribal youth. Many foresee that the Tribal House in Bartlett Cove will become a place where the Tlingit will be able to coordinate community activities and culture camps within the Bay:

The clan house that they're putting up there, they're talking about...having the people of Hoonah or anywhere else that wants to come in and use it...for like Native dancing or coming in, folks want to come in...ladies want to come and do some beadwork, or do some basket weaving, or various things. They're going to let them do that (OJ).

Others propose that places such as the TCP at Berg Bay might eventually serve as the venue for campouts or “culture camp” events, with some degree of NPS involvement. As much of the land at Berg Bay is private property rather than NPS ownership, the tribe and the private owner would need to assess the viability of such an arrangement somewhat independent of the NPS.

Some interviewees also suggested that the NPS might implement an “educational permit,” a special permit issued once or twice per year for certain educational activities, such as learning traditional resource-harvesting skills in traditional and culturally significant areas within the Bay.⁴⁶ A variety of other possible arrangements were mentioned by interviewees, all directed at getting Huna people – young people in particular – back on the lands and waters of Glacier Bay proper so that Huna ties to the place will endure.

Developing Cruise Ship Interpretative Programs

When asked how to mitigate and minimize the adverse effects of cruise ship visitation, especially the intangible effects – interviewees commonly mentioned the potentials of public interpretation guided by Huna Tlingit and values. Currently, there are cruise ship based interpretive programs (principally on Holland America ships) that offer Tlingit interpretive presentations. Generally, interpretive programs begin with a National Park Service employee who presents on natural history themes. This is then followed by a presentation by a Tlingit interpreter, who explains the cultural significance of Glacier Bay to the Huna Tlingit. This live interpretative presentation is aimed at promoting an awareness of Tlingit people and the importance of Glacier Bay, not only as a natural place, but also as a dynamic element in a living Tlingit culture.

For those Tlingit who are employed as cultural interpreters on cruise ships, many are encouraged by the visible impact their presentations have had on the listening public. Wanda Culp shares her experience as an interpreter:

When I was cultural interpreting on that boat, park service already had a naturalist on board that had free reign on the PA system to talk about their history, about the natural stuff. And when I came on, then the agreement was we would split the time, and I would tell about the cultural stuff. And I'll tell you what, people were quiet when they heard that we [were] present in Glacier Bay, and they wanted to hear what we had to say. They would come around me in groups afterward. I never saw them group around any Park people. So they're hungry to hear about it (WC).

Interviewees note that past NPS interpretation has tended to focus on the natural drama of the Glacier Bay story, but as time moves on “it’s going to become more of a cultural destination,” reflecting changing national interests and the continued retreat of the glaciers. Yet, Glacier Bay proper is seen by some as a “great gaping hole in Southeast Alaska where culture ought to be,” where cultural interpretation will need to develop quickly to meet visitor demand (AN).

For the most part, the Tlingit people are eager to share their knowledge of Glacier Bay and the importance of the Bay to the people, but more importantly, they want to express the need to respect and care for it as an ancestral homeland.⁴⁷ As Dennis Gray says,

My mom and dad always said you know, ‘We’ve got such beautiful country, we need to share it.’ Everything was always sharing you know? And we want people to enjoy it. We’re willing to share it with them as long as it’s explained to them how sacred it is to us. I mean how much it means to us, and they respect that, then I have no problem with them going up there to see our beautiful, ancestral homeland, because now more and more, that story’s being told to them (DG).

These presentations, some suggest, are critical in establishing respect for Huna culture and the Glacier Bay homeland. According to James Jack, in the course of the interpretive programs that he has conducted,

we tried to relay or pass onto them that respect was the biggest factor for our society, with respect for each other, respect for visitors, respect for the land, respect for anything that lived, you know (JJ).

Similarly, speaking in regards to her work as an interpreter on the Holland America Cruise Line, Jean Lampe explains, “for the most part, a lot of people came up to me and thanked me, because they had no idea that there were Native people up here...like that idea, you know, the concept of respect” (JL). Through interpretative programs, both on cruise ships and during land-based cultural programs, the Tlingit strive to teach tourists to act respectfully while in Glacier Bay. Doing this creates a sense of engagement with the landscape and imparts a sense of responsibility to care for the land and surroundings, not merely as a tourist passing through, but as a visitor in another’s home. This, in some interviewees’ view, helps to reduce such adverse effects

as noisy, raucous behavior at the base of Margerie Glacier or the casual disposal of trash such as cigarette butts into the water.

Interviewees consistently gave the impression that interpretation from a Tlingit perspective also “humanized” the Glacier Bay story and made the monumental geology of that place intelligible through a human lens. (This point seemed to be confirmed by the authors, while observing cruise ship passengers participating in these interpretive programs.) Thus, as Adam Greenwald suggests, “some of it’s going to rub off, you know. There’s a strong feeling from the ones that came from that area” (AG).

So too, interpretation helps to build outsiders’ empathy with the Huna people and an understanding of their history. This is understood by some interpreters as a healing and potentially transformative way of dealing with the burden of the colonial experience on Tlingit people. Alice Haldane, who was initially wary of the introduction of cruise ships into the Bay, has since become an interpreter employed by Huna Totem working on the Holland America cruise ships. She describes how Tlingit interpretive presentations raise awareness about the historical struggles of the Tlingit people and the direct impact her presentations have had on her audiences:

[After] my presentation...about our people and how we, we’re not allowed to speak our language here, you know, it was taken away from us...two ladies came up to me, and they gave me a big hug and started crying. I said, ‘Oh my gosh. I hope I didn’t say anything bad,’ you know. And they came up to me, and they were apologizing for having to take away the language, you know, in their homeland. I felt bad about that...I know I had a lot of people come up after to me, after my presentation, and they said that you know, ‘It would not have meant anything, you know, if I didn’t hear your presentation and talk to you, because I can look out and trees and water, same thing, you know. But...to listen to you tell the story of your people that lived in here...’ made a whole big difference to them, you know (AH).

As Howard Gray notes, this sometimes requires an interpreter who is themselves savvy, empathetic, and attuned to the nuances of cross-cultural communication: “Interpretation by Huna can bridge the cultural divide or can complicate it....it takes a person who isn’t angry” (HG). Interpreters working aboard the cruise ships, or at other tourist venues such as Icy Strait Point, learn that they cannot alienate visitors if they hope to educate and foster empathy among them too.

This connection with tourists is the ultimate goal for many of the Huna Tlingit that we spoke with during the interview process. They strive to add meaning to the moments the tourists spend in Glacier Bay and the surrounding communities, in a way that

fosters visitor respect and a sense of responsibility for the place and for the people who continue to live there.⁴⁸ So too, by placing the Huna people and the Huna voice at the center of public interpretation, this helps to offset some of the corrosive cultural effects caused by the reversal of the historical position of “hosts” and “guests” within Glacier Bay. From the Huna perspective, positioning themselves as the “hosts” to cruise ship visitors is often critical, rather than being treated as a fellow “guest” passing through Glacier Bay.

Yet, there are other audiences that are affected by these interpretive programs. For example, Tom Abel points out that the cruise line crew members should also be considered an audience learning about Tlingit culture and history:

So there’s an audience there. We can’t leave them with a negative connotation, because there are people there that will listen. And we have to understand that there’s two groups of people, the crew members and the tourists. And if you just make some effort to contact the crew members, the crew members will go home and talk about you (TA).

Here too, by building empathetic connections with cruise ship crews, some interpreters hope that they might affect incremental changes in the ways that Glacier Bay is seen and treated by these visitors. In turn, there is some hope that these crews might take extra measures to minimize the inadvertent discharge of wastewater, oil, paper cups, or any number of other contaminants into this pristine and culturally critical part of the Huna homeland.

Yet, tourists and non-Native crew members are not the only people to benefit from the interpretive programs. Many of the Huna interpreters have started with very limited cultural knowledge, but their position allows them a paid opportunity to research their own heritage and become educated in the fundamentals of Tlingit culture and history as it relates to Glacier Bay. So too, some Tlingit interpreters describe a resurgence in cultural pride—among Tlingit interpreters, themselves, and among Tlingit who hear them speak. This benefit of contemporary interpretation augments, and in some peoples’ view, exceeds the economic values of interpretation aboard cruise ships or at Icy Strait Point. When asked if being an interpreter made him feel differently about his culture, James Jack replied:

Definitely. It made me feel like, ‘Wow, I can tell all these people about my ancestors,’ you know. And there are people that are really interested. They really want to know what our people were like during the days of living at Glacier Bay and what happened after the advancement of the ice (JJ).

Veronica Dalton too says that she was initially skeptical of the introduction of cruise ships into Glacier Bay, but now feels that the introduction of cruise ships has also brought an unexpected vehicle for Tlingit employment and cultural pride:

It's giving people opportunity for employment [as interpreters]...We have new people who are trying to get jobs as interpreters. They're learning as much as they can. They're proud of who they are. They want to go up and share information with everybody. So I think, to me, it also helps, you know. People are proud of who they are, that they know the stories (VD).

Another positive outcome of the interpretive programs, some note, is increased collaboration among the Huna Tlingit, organizations, and clans who seek to present a cohesive history to both outsiders and to tribal youth. Johan Dybdahl describes these efforts at Icy Strait Point in particular:

It's expanded considerably, and I think our people are doing a good job telling that whole story. We're trying to work more with our interpretive program, sharing information that we've developed at Icy Strait Point. It's all one story, you know, really, and so we're trying to put it all together (JD).

Prospects for Future Public Interpretation

If carried out successfully, cultural interpretation has the potential to enhance visitor experience and possibly improve visitor behavior, as well as to support cultural knowledge and pride among Tlingit youth.

The public interpretation of Tlingit history and culture is very much tied to the concepts of *at.óow* (sacred possessions) and *shagóon* (heritage and destiny). Someone who interprets is making claims about the nature of Tlingit identity, history, and relationships with specific lands and resources that are, in specific narrative and visual artistic forms, the sacred property and heritage of specific clans and their sublineages. This makes the very telling of Tlingit history in Glacier Bay a potential political issue. Ron Williams, who helped develop the first Native interpretative program for Glacier Bay Cruise ships on behalf of Huna Totem Corporation, notes that the solution was to develop a consensus general narrative about Huna origins, development, and continuing associations with Glacier Bay, without telling "clan stories" and "clan histories." This approach continues to characterize presentations on cruise ships in Glacier Bay.

While interpretation in its current form certainly shows much promise, many interviewees shared suggestions to improve the prospects for interpretation on cruise ships in the future – an option for helping to minimize or mitigate the effects of cruise ships on TCPs and other Tlingit cultural interests. First, many interviewees would like to see Tlingit cultural interpreters established on *all* cruise ships that enter Glacier Bay:

I'd love to see that [an interpreter on every boat]...and I think that plays a big part not only for us but to the people that are going up there for the first time you know, having an interpreter, because they're well-versed. They've done their homework (DG).

Floyd Peterson echoes this sentiment. When asked if all cruise ships should have an interpreter onboard, he responded, "They should. There's a lot of history there, you know. I mean, they were first inhabitants, these Tlingit people here" (FP). Experienced cultural interpreter, Alice Haldane, also believes that a cultural orientation should be required on all tour ships, saying "[If they don't,] it's just another bay with wildlife there, you know. They didn't know we lived there before" (AH). Similarly, James Jack makes the point, "Well, without the orientation, all they're doing is sightseeing" (JJ). In addition to reaching out to a larger proportion of visitors, some suggest that the proliferation of interpretive programs might foster some level of diversification between cruise lines that would add vibrancy and public appeal to these presentations.⁴⁹ However, such diversification would mean revisiting the concept of a consensus Huna narrative as developed in the early stages of Huna Totem Corporation's involvement with cruise ship interpretation in Glacier Bay.

These interpreters could not only present live interpretation programs to an audience, but they could also be available for questions, as is now done on Holland America ships. Interviewees with experience in interpretation note that this provides much expanded opportunities for detailed discussion and – if interpreters are patient and capable – the building of rapport, empathy and respect. Currently, the Huna interpreters are not always easy for Holland America passengers to find after their presentation, and so some interpreters propose efforts to enhance their visibility. John Dybdahl suggests wearing a type of visible sign to encourage questioning the interpreters; speaking of the interpretive operation at Icy Strait Point, he notes, "I want to get a button...for every one of our employees, [saying] 'Ask me. I live here'" (JD).

While cruise ships traveling to Glacier Bay currently do not go to Icy Strait Point, mitigation options also involving an expansion of port-based interpretive activities might be worth considering. At least one respondent suggested that interpretation about the Huna Tlingit at the point of boarding might help orient visitors to how Tlingits perceive and engage Glacier Bay, and about how to respectfully engage these landscapes as TCPs bounded by ancestral covenants and traditional protocols of

respect and reciprocity. (Recognizing that the ships pass through many other Tlingit communities' traditional lands, as well as those of the Haida, Tsimshian, and possibly others, such an orientation may need to be cast fairly broadly, perhaps with place-specific subsections relating to points along the journey.) However, a large number of interviewees instead proposed somehow altering the cruise line trajectory so that visits to both Hoonah and Glacier Bay are possible. As it stands now, tourists must choose one location or the other. Interviewees argue that in order to fully understand and experience the land and the culture, ships should stop at both locations, tying them into one interpretive program. As Alice Haldane notes, "If they left Juneau, and they came into Glacier Bay and then come to Hoonah, that would be one continuous story, you know" (AH). Dennis Gray concurs, describing the advantages of a Hoonah/Glacier Bay tour route:

Once they hear our story about our ancestral homeland, I think it that it would enlighten them [prior to visiting Glacier Bay]...we could tell them what to look for, and they can associate with it once they get up there, you know, our stories. And give them something to look for, because we could point different things out on...a map, like this [referring to the Huna Totem/HIA produced brochure map with Tlingit history and place names], which we do hand out to them (DG).

Linking Hoonah and Glacier Bay provides a more holistic visitor experience, they suggest.

In addition to increasing Tlingit presence on the ships, interviewees also express a desire to have more time and freedom to present Huna content during shipboard interpretive programs. According to James Jack, Sr., "forty minutes would be much better, because you could get more in depth...you'd have ample time to answer the questions" (JJ). Ideally, many presenters would like to have full control over the cultural and historical content of their presentations as well, without having to side-step issues that might be discouraged by the NPS or cruise ship lines:

Allow the indigenous people to create the programs without the influence or restrictions of money and funding and stuff. Because with those restrictions, we can't tell our story right. And when we're not allowed to tell our story, it gets convoluted (WC).⁵⁰

In the event that cultural interpretation is not possible aboard all ships, or with this degree of latitude, interviewees still propose close collaboration between the NPS and Huna Tlingit to ensure that the interpretive content presented to cruise ships accomplishes many of the broader goals outlined here. Dennis Gray, for example,

proposes as a fallback position a cooperative relationship with the National Park Service interpretive programs:



Figure 15: Elders and youth from Hoonah, sharing oral traditions regarding their shared heritage in Glacier Bay proper in the course of social and ceremonial events undertaken on the Bay. Douglas Deur photo.

I'd like to see our people placed on the ships [as interpreters] that go into the Bay. You know, see our people, because nobody can tell a story better than our people...but if they [NPS staff] choose not to...I think that might be a great idea, you know, to at least have them come to us and try to work with us... so they could at least... have an idea and be able to make an effort to...tell the right story. Because I don't think anybody can tell it like our people can (DG).

Many suggested that the Hoonah Indian Association would be the most appropriate coordinating venue for interpretive programs and training in how to present and respect Tlingit culture. As James Jack says,

I think it would be great for the tribal government [to] go get involved, HIA, you know. I know they are involved to certain extent, but if there ever was an agreement between the park service, the United States government, and the local Tlingit government, HIA, then they should have a big say-so as to what will happen and who will happen, because they operate on like a council governing body, you know. And the council is elected by the people to represent them. So I think HIA should have a huge say-so as to what the park service and HIA decide on who can go where, and gather what, and do what, you know" (JJ).

A few individuals also mentioned Seaslaska Heritage Institute as a resource in this respect, with staff and resources that might aid interpretive efforts generally.

In addition to live interpretation, interviewees also suggested the development of culturally focused audio-visual interpretative media and interactive displays aboard ships. These, they suggest, would allow tourists to absorb information in a myriad of ways and at their own leisure, and would allow the Huna message to reach the many people who miss the live presentation. For example, some suggest that clan leaders could appear in a video speaking about Glacier Bay in basic terms, as the "host" of the people who are visiting the Huna homeland. This video would be shown while the ship tours the Bay, and would complement the interpreter's live presentation: "I think that's a great idea...like a promotional CD or something like we do down there [at Icy Point]" (DG). Holland America produced a video with HIA involvement somewhat along these lines several years ago, narrated by Lily White, though it is unclear whether it is still used; the Princess line has also been reporting interest in such a video (M.B. Moss pers. comm. 2014). To be consistent with traditional protocols, some note, these videos should include the leadership of appropriate clans as the presentation's "host." The use of cultural displays aboard ships is not entirely absent at this time; however, as James Jack recommends, creating a more thorough development of the material using an interactive format enhances visitor experience:

We had displays. We had a traditional halibut hook. We had a rattle and some other stuff that we had displayed there, but...I think [the displays] need to be enhanced. I think it needed to have a more of big attraction. For example, we could probably have a big screen behind you with Glacier Bay depicted on the screen, you know. And then you could have maybe suggested hunting sites or gathering sites, you know, with different color buttons on there or something like that (JJ).

Ultimately, most interviewees want to increase the Huna Tlingit presence aboard cruise ships in a variety of ways, as a means to raise awareness and garner respect for Glacier Bay as a landscape and as a homeland.⁵¹ Handled correctly, the development of interpretive media and programs can help to offset the adverse effects of the very cruise ships that provide the vehicle for interpretive presentations. The experiences of Huna people with Icy Strait Point, which presents both a historical and modern view of Tlingit culture, was often cited as a source of ideas regarding next steps. While interpretation is certainly recognized as a means of promoting respect, interviewees note that interpretive planners must ensure that a respectful approach is taken when designing programs about Tlingit culture. Tlingit people must be integral to the interpretive planning process if it is to succeed; so too, interpretive media must be developed in a way that does not infringe on Tlingit cultural patrimony and intellectual property – a goal only attainable if Tlingit people and especially clan leadership are involved meaningfully in the development of interpretive media. As Wanda Culp and Bob Loesher note, some Huna have said of interpreters that “They want to use us, but they don’t want to involve us” – this, they suggest, must change if interpretive development is to truly be restorative and to mitigate some of the adverse effects of cruise ships and other impacts on Tlingit interests within Glacier Bay (WC).

Interpretive and Educational Opportunities for Huna Youth

As discussed earlier, there are barriers to intergenerational transmission of knowledge and a reported trend toward the “cultural amnesia” of some Huna Tlingit youth. In response to this, interviewees spoke of collaborating with the NPS to develop interpretive and educational opportunities specifically for Huna youth. Most often, as proposed, this would involve expanding upon the interpretive opportunities provided to non-Native park visitors with more detailed interpretive content that could build upon youth education opportunities in Hoonah.

These proposals often involve tapping into the considerable resources and expertise of NPS programs relating to such pursuits as scientific research, curation, archaeology, and other themes that resonate with Tlingit interests. For example, Veronica Dalton proposes the creation of a science center, which would generate opportunities for Tlingit youth to reconnect with traditional harvesting skills and to be given a chance to relearn those skills within the context of a curriculum that combines Tlingit traditional knowledge and Western science.⁵² As envisioned, this center might provide educational benefits to Tlingit youth while also generating content that would be of value to public interpretation in the park and aboard cruise ships:

One of my visions...was to have kind of like a science center there...we could have our kids go up and go through, and also the guests could come through and see...so people would understand, you know...you come through, you're on a boat trip, but you know what? People lived here before. This is how they survived. This is what they ate. This is how they lived. This is what their homes looked like (VD).

As Dalton notes, “not everyone’s parents teach subsistence. And not everyone understands how to cook a gumboot,” so even these sorts of skills might be included in as part of an integrated curriculum (VD). A science center, partially supported by NPS and for the benefit of Tlingit people and visitors alike, might create a space for Tlingit youth to learn certain skills as well as to have access to the vast scientific resources of the NPS. Dalton suggests that such a center would help bolster not only the education and employability of Huna youth, but help reinforce their identity in ways that would yield larger benefits:

You have those kids that, I feel, are kind of lost spirits – are ones who are misbehaving, who didn’t have the parents or the guidance of grandparent or someone, so they’re kind of lost. They don’t know their identity...I think once they understand who they are, where they’re from, then they become more aware of things and they’re not as rough and tough and aggressive...People need to know who they are and where they’re from (VD).

The NPS has collaborated with Hoonah to develop shorter educational opportunities, such as a 5-day science camp for Hoonah middle school students, blending traditional and Western scientific knowledge about salmon (M.B. Moss pers. comm. 2014). These educational efforts provide inspiration and precedents for the larger efforts of the sort envisioned by Veronica Dalton.

Interviewees also frequently recommended involving Huna youth in park programs that would require these young people to act as interpreters aboard cruise ships. Many interviewees see this as a way of fostering the pride of Huna youth in themselves and their people, as well building a knowledge base among youth, because becoming an interpreter requires a fluent knowledge of, and accountability for, Tlingit culture and history. Marlene Johnson describes how young interpreters have to study and become involved with the knowledge that they present:

The interpreters don’t follow [a script]...they use the PowerPoint, but they talk. Not like they’re reading. They don’t read it. It’s not that kind

of thing. It's [their knowledge] even if they've had to study – it's a knowledgeable thing (MJ).

Not only does being an interpreter require broad and detailed knowledge, but the interaction between generations of Tlingit interpreters would facilitate the intergenerational sharing of information and values relating to Glacier Bay and its landmarks in ways that are sometimes elusive otherwise. This intern or “shadower” would be able to learn both the cultural knowledge and appropriate ways of conveying such information in this venue. As Frank Wright explains,

I think that would be a good place to have young people standing alongside an interpreter just to listen to what is being told, so it would be an education for a young person that is standing there beside the interpreter to become an interpreter...And that's very mentally healthy and educational, and being able to get out and talk to other people of the world (FR).

In addition to filling a generational gap, being an interpreter on a cruise ship offers Huna youth an opportunity to interact with people from international origins. With this experience comes social and emotional maturity, some suggest, as well as a sense of pride in their homeland. Floyd Peterson expresses his desire: “I just wish more of the Natives could get out of here and see how parts of the country are living. Maybe they'd value what they have here more. And take advantage of the opportunities” (FP).

Ultimately, through becoming involved in the interpretive program at any age, Huna people become agentive in the telling of their own history and therefore their own future. Frank O. Williams adamantly describes the importance of this:

It gets written and accepted into the public. That's going to be your history. So I said, 'You guys have to start to learn to write. I can't tell you what to write. I just know that you have to carry it forward, because if we stand still, it's going to leave you behind.' And I still don't think we have enough people writing (FO).

Involving the community in the writing of their history is a powerful way to involve multiple generations in the definition and interpretation of their own history, relating to specific TCPs and to Glacier Bay as a whole.



Figure 16: Huna Tlingit youth from Huna Middle School aboard the Glacier Bay day boat in 2010, sharing songs learned and practiced for the Glacier Bay event. Douglas Deur photo.

Smaller Boats

Interviewees often note that smaller craft are able to access more of the Bay shoreline allowing tourists to approach the landscape on a more personal level. Interviewees note that on smaller vessels “people tend to be more interested, have more experience and education...they have higher expectations too” (AN). Alice Haldane, who has worked as an interpreter on both the big cruise ships and the smaller catamaran tour boats, shares her experiences:

Ah, it’s wonderful going on those Cruise West boats, because we get to travel in and out of the little [bays and inlets], you know where the Holland America, we just go zip, go right up straight to the glacier, you know...I think it’s a little more expensive for them to travel on that, but they give them their money, you know, by going in and out of those

inlets. We get to see the bear up close like we did, you know on this trip here, bears and mountain goats (AH).

Another feature of the tour boats is that they can only accommodate a small number of tourists. James Jack, referring to the Cruise West ship, makes this comparison: “It was a smaller ship. It was like a 64-65 passenger ship...You get more personal...you get a better ratio of interpreter to visitor, as opposed to 1400, or 1500 on the Holland America ship” (JJ).

As a result, Huna interpreters suggest that they are more successful at fostering empathy and respect among the people on these smaller boats. Jean Lampe has worked on both the big cruise lines and for the smaller Cruise West ships. She compares her experiences and identifies a difference in the nature of the people who opt to explore Glacier Bay as part of these smaller boat tours: “Well, it’s different. I like both, the bigger cruise ship and the smaller. As far as the people are concerned though, the ones that are on the smaller cruise ship, they seemed to be more interested and more respectful” (JL). Wanda Culp also notes a difference between interpretation and visitor responsiveness on the big cruise ships versus the smaller tour boats:

It is smaller groups that they do their homework, like on the catamaran. Those people did their homework before they came up there. One young man, from Florida of all places, corrected me when I was presenting the Kaasteen story and said there was a young girl that stayed behind. He said...‘isn’t there two versions to that?’ And I was like, ‘Who are you?’ He said he did his homework. So you have to be prepared for these ones that really care and want to hear the full story experience our history, the feeling of our – how we value this place. That’s where the tourists in the smaller boats are headed. They bring their families. They want their kids to learn (WC).

In light of these facts, some Huna interviewees feel that having smaller boats will help to foster respect among the passengers because of the personal nature of the experience these boats provide in comparison to the cruise ships. A profusion of small boats in lieu of cruise ships has its obvious downsides – bringing a larger number of vessels and expanding the geographical reach of some of the adverse effects outlined in this document. So too, the cost of passage on a small tour boat is likely to be prohibitive for many of the people who now visit the park by cruise ship. Nonetheless, some interviewees feel that the tradeoffs may be justifiable and that policies favoring smaller vessels should be considered by the NPS.

Sharing Knowledge and Building Rapport with NPS Staff

Throughout the interviews undertaken for this study, and within this document, there is a clear suggestion that respect is a fundamental, transactional element of Tlingit society. The need for respect has been suggested in terms of human relationships with the landmarks and forces of Glacier Bay. However, interviewees also suggested that their success in protecting the integrity of both Huna culture and of Glacier Bay depends upon cultivating mutual respect between Huna people and NPS staff. In fact, cooperative management and increased communication between the NPS staff and the Huna people were frequently discussed as means of mitigating the intangible impacts of cruise ships. As all interviewees seemed to appreciate, fostering this type of respect is a long-term effort; respect must be maintained and reaffirmed continuously, over very long periods of time, if it is to be sustained and mutually beneficial. Many interviewees acknowledged that relationships with the NPS had been quite bad in past times, but the relationship has improved considerably with time, through the hard work of key individuals and sincere efforts on both sides to communicate openly and honestly about their differences and shared interests.⁵³ According to Dennis Gray, Sr.,

I know there's [strong] feelings. You know, I'm an elder now, but we do have some older elders that have very powerful feelings about the [park], a lot stronger. I mean, they don't want to bend as much as some of us that are willing, you know, to make things work. We want to have a good working relationship just so we can have access to our bay, whatever it's going to take. We want to work with them, and our feeling is that we shouldn't even be asking. They should be asking us [*laughs*] (DG).

Indeed, there have been various challenges to NPS regulation initiated by Tlingit individuals and organizations such as Hoonah Indian Association to attempt to reverse or revise park policy that might adversely affect Tlingit uses and interests (Thornton 2008; Catton 1995). Elders sometimes express that these efforts are part of a "battle" of spiritual importance, for the very survival of Huna and their homeland, and this is sure to shape the dialogue between NPS and Huna representatives far into the future.⁵⁴

Interviewees suggested that a critical plank of any effort to foster communication between the NPS and the Huna is creating an atmosphere of transparency regarding NPS rules and regulations, so that Huna people understand the "why" behind the restrictions they face in their ancestral homeland. According to Gordon Greenwald,

sometimes our own ignorance of what the rules [are in place for]...All we know is we can't [do things]...is [a restriction] due to the cruise ship or is it due to, you know, cold weather? I mean, why is the rule? Is it due to cruise ship that I have to slow down...you know, we understand it's due to the impact on the whales, but is it because of the impact of the cruise ships on the whales? Or all ships on the whales...I mean, I understand that it may not be due to cruise ships, but are some of those rules there...imposed by the park because of the fear of [impacts]? (GG).

Regular communication regarding the rules and their justifications is important for many reasons. In fact, uncertainty, itself, has impacts on Tlingit use of Glacier Bay. Some express sufficient confusion regarding park policy and its changes over time that they simply avoid going to the Bay for fear of inadvertently violating park policy: "Even people who have a permit are afraid to go up there, cause they might get arrested" (RD). As this report often demonstrates, park regulations and policies from long ago are sometimes thought to still be in force today, so that even if the NPS has corrected certain problems, those problems are still seen as current by a segment of Tlingit society. Frequent and open communication, extending well beyond the limited and limiting domain of tribal consultation, and institutionalized as a permanent part of park management, is perhaps the only way to help ensure that Huna understandings of park policy are current and potentially empathetic. As noted elsewhere, the NPS has key individuals who have facilitated this communication, and have even stationed the park Cultural Anthropologist in Hoonah to help maintain flows of information in both directions.

As interviewees note, transparency between the Huna and the NPS must not be one-sided, however. The Huna possess a deep knowledge of Glacier Bay, in part, because of their longstanding ties to the landscape as their ancestral homeland; they are thus potential allies and sources of inspiration and information to NPS resource managers. As Dennis Gray explains,

I think they'll have a whole different outlook... of everything, if they...sat and listened to us for a little bit. And of course they're professionals at what they do, but we've been what we are for all our lives (DG).

Similarly, Floyd Petersen echoes the idea that the NPS might benefit from engaging with Tlingit knowledge holders in an ongoing, two-way dialogue concerning the utilization of resources in Glacier Bay:

Well, I think it's reasonable that the park service listen to the Natives more...instead of telling them [the Huna] what they should do and

shouldn't do up in Glacier Bay, or here for that matter, instead of telling them, they [NPS staff] should be asking them...what kind of harvesting or what kind of commercial industry or whatever would you recommend in Glacier Bay, or for that matter, Icy Strait or Port Frederick you know (FP).

This input might include matters relating to cruise ship effects and future adjustments of cruise ship numbers. Some propose that a council of Tlingit clan leaders or stakeholders could be a strong partner with the NPS when considering cruise ship issues. Speaking as a clan leader, Frank White notes that this approach might involve clan representatives coming together to assess cruise ship effects, in an advisory role, with the Hoonah Indian Association serving as the “consulted party” in formal consultation and compliance proceedings:

Yeah, it was our land, yeah. Yeah, we enforce it...Well, all four clans would have a big meeting over it...the four clans pick the representatives to sit in on the council. And whatever comes out of the council, that would be handed to HIA (FW).

Some attribute past miscommunication and conflict between the NPS and the Huna, in part, to radically different “cultures” in the two groups. Moreover, some suggest that the NPS presents an institutional atmosphere in which “scientific” values are pitted against “cultural” values – a point made about the NPS by many native communities in the United States.⁵⁵ Ken Grant offers a unique perspective on the issue, as both a Tlingit person and an NPS employee, regarding NPS-Huna relations:

“I think we’re headed in that right direction. I believe [that] and I know that I’m far to the right for some people. I mean, I’m a park person, but still hanging onto my Tlingit part, you know” (KG).

As Ken Grant suggests, the dichotomy of park science versus Tlingit culture can be a cause for concern for Huna people, but can also be overcome by communication and mutual respect. With ongoing communication, both sides can convey the fundamentals of their worldview to one another and envision management strategies that can encompass both perspectives. Marlene Johnson alludes to this when she comments,

I think right now, with the employees that are there now, I think they understand that, that it’s more than a...piece of land, that it’s got a spirit

that, in us, that means much more to the people than just having a picket fence around a piece of land (MJ).

Through such communication and mutual respect, the knowledge and views of the Huna and NPS may become mutually reinforcing, or even employed in new and symbiotic ways. Many interviewees, for example, expressed a desire to see the scientific information held by the park service and the cultural knowledge held by the Tlingit people combined and integrated into an educational curriculum and perhaps also a resource stewardship plan for Glacier Bay. Creating this cohesion between the NPS and the Tlingit worldviews, they suggest, will require a concerted effort and high level of patience by everyone involved. According to Veronica Dalton,

I think if everyone takes time to understand each other's point of view, I think we can go forward, but if there's resistance on either side, they're stuck. And that's where a lot of, I think, a lot of people...are angry about the park. They don't see the efforts that the park has made in these trips. If they don't have kids in the school, they don't see the efforts that a lot of us see, that, yes, they are making a lot of effort to work with us (VD).

In a similar vein, Dennis Gray comments,

so we still got our hopes. We still got a long ways to go, but at least there's an effort on both parts to come to some kind of agreement...after they discovered, I think, that we have evidence of Glacier Bay being our ancestral homeland, you know, they started having a different attitude toward us. And some people started sympathizing with us in our effort to get back into our bay (DG).

Clearly, a respectful dialogue regarding the future of Glacier Bay must be fostered and cultivated into the foreseeable future if Huna culture and Huna ties to Glacier Bay are to persist. These things are fundamental to the "integrity of relationship" with the individual TCPs within the Bay as well. In order to minimize and mitigate the effects of cruise ship traffic – past, present, and future – there may be opportunities to expand this communication and to create formal and enduring venues for its continuation. Compliance-driven meetings can only accomplish a portion of this goal. In order for this to support the shared goals of protecting the lands and culture of the Huna, more may be needed. Collaborative ventures such as culturally-informed natural resource planning programs, park-sponsored cultural events, and other gatherings that might foster candid discussion between NPS staff and Huna people may be necessary parts of this long-term strategy.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Since the beginning of remembered time, Glacier Bay has been the origin and keystone of the Huna Tlingit homeland. Though the glacial advance of the Little Ice Age temporarily displaced its human inhabitants from the main bay, and rearranged the physical landscape in dramatic ways, Huna Tlingit ties to the landscape have endured. Today, Huna people continue to return to Glacier Bay proper for a diverse range of activities, from traditional food gathering and commercial harvests of resources to spiritual practices, historical commemoration, and the teaching of tribal youth in the fundamentals of their history and culture. The National Park Service has at different times limited or encouraged these associations in complex ways.

While the values, practices, and concerns addressed in this document affect many parts of Glacier Bay proper, this document was designed to especially illuminate how they manifest as Traditional Cultural Properties—a category of property eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. What is said of effects of cruise ships in those locations could be said of many places within the Bay, and this TCP emphasis should not obscure the fact that the findings of this document may have implications well beyond the footprint of any TCPs within the park.

Again, based on contemporary associations between Huna people and Glacier Bay proper, the cultural resource specialists at Glacier Bay National Park have determined that no fewer than five areas are potentially eligible as TCPs. These include (but are not necessarily limited to) the following places:

Point Gustavus and Bartlett Cove (*S'íx' X'áayí*, [Big] Dish Point) and (*L'éiw Shaa Shakee.aan*, Town on Top of the Sand Hill): Point Gustavus is highly significant to the Wooshkeetaan clan as a site of important clan houses and an epic battle. *L'éiw Shaa Shakee.aan* supported the largest aboriginal settlement at *S'e Shuyee* and has unique cultural and historical importance for all the Tlingit clans that resided there at the time of the Little Ice Age advance.

Berg Bay (*Chookanhéeni*, Beach Grass River): This area is central to the origin and development of the Chookaneidí clan, and the clan takes its name from the watershed, which contains multiple species of salmon.

Margerie Glacier and associated Glaciers (*Sít' Tlein*, Big Glacier, *Sít'k'i T'ooch'*, Little Black Glacier): Like the other glaciers in the park, Margerie Glacier is conceptualized as a manifestation of the glacier that overran Tlingit ancestral villages during the Little Ice Age, and still possesses a spirit and agency. Margerie Glacier figures are *at.ooowu* of the Chookaneidi Clan and figure

prominently on Chookaneidí regalia. Margerie Glacier is the focus of contemporary Huna ceremonial activities in the park today.

Mt. Fairweather (*Tsalxaan, Ground Squirrel Land*[?]): This mountain and its environs are considered sacred and traditionally used for shamanic purposes by the T'akdeintaan clan, and the landscape is associated with the activities of spiritual beings in Tlingit oral tradition. These events and figures are featured in T'akdeintaan sacred properties, including regalia, such as the Mt. Fairweather Lady and Spirit Dog hats, and spirit songs.

A fifth area, Marble Islands (*K'wát' Aaní, Land Belonging to the Seagull Eggs*), is of ambiguous TCP eligibility due to its changing habitat conditions and Alaska SHPO reluctance to nominate sites principally valued for natural resource harvests, but is still included in this list due to the strong historical subsistence ties and stewardship responsibilities people feel towards the bird colonies on these islands. These islands are the principal places used by Huna for seagull egg gathering, as well as the continuation of cultural activities associated with this practice, including the training of children in traditional egg gathering and nesting habitat maintenance protocols.

These potential TCPs are encompassed by Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve boundaries, and park staff must make decisions regarding the ongoing management of these culturally significant sites. In doing so, by terms spelled out in National Register guidance, managers must assess how all activities might affect the “integrity” of these sites – not only their physical “integrity of condition” – but the “integrity of relationship” between the place and the living culture of the Huna Tlingit. Management decisions that might interrupt Huna use of a TCP, or adversely affect the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge regarding such a place, are likely to negatively affect this second type of “integrity,” and to jeopardize the National Register status of the place generally. This is a unique obligation for federal land managers, somewhat different than what is expected of many other types of National Register properties (such as historic homes or archaeological sites) where the significance of the property emanated largely from the past. A TCP gains its status by virtue of the values, sentiments, attachments and activities of people living now and into the future; its management requires not only protecting a place but protecting a relationship with living people.

Huna Tlingit aspirations toward these properties are clear: they seek full access to and recognition of their historical and continuing relationships to these sites, and a full partnership role in the care and stewardship of these TCPs to support the ongoing material, social, and spiritual relationships that bind them to these cultural lands and seascapes. Care and stewardship includes a strong ethos of respectful and reciprocal behavior on the part of visitors – including but not limited to cruise ships and their

passengers – the violation of which is viewed as an adverse “impact” to these landscapes and the integrity of Huna Tlingit relationships to their homeland.

Over the course of the second half of the 20th century, cruise ship visitation became central to tourism within Glacier Bay. Today, the vast majority of human visitation to Glacier Bay proper occurs aboard cruise ships. The National Park Service, as manager of the lands and waters within Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, plays a pivotal role in determining the level of cruise ship traffic within the Bay now and into the foreseeable future. In this role, the NPS must assess the potential impacts of cruise ships on a variety of resources. These resources include “cultural resources,” including but not limited to sites eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places – Traditional Cultural Properties among them.

This document has been developed in an effort to assess the types of impacts that cruise ships may have on these TCPs, and to illuminate options for the minimization or mitigation of any adverse impacts. As NPS documentation and nomination of these potential TCPs is not yet complete, the discussion of effects has been necessarily general in scope. Still, it is clear that Huna interviewees share a range of concerns about the impacts of cruise ships on this important part of their homeland. They express concerns about the direct effects of cruise ships on water quality, through the inadvertent dispersal of trash, wastewater, or even alien organisms – all matters of concern to the integrity of the waterfront TCPs at Berg Bay, Point Gustavus/Bartlett Cove, Margerie Glacier and the Marble Islands. Wakes are said to make navigation and coastal activities potentially unsafe in these coastal sites too, especially at the Marble Islands. Exhaust discharges are of concern generally, but also have the potential to impede views of the proposed TCP at Mt. Fairweather. Noise pollution, the disturbance of fish and wildlife, and the crowding of vessels in certain areas of the Bay all are reported as adverse effects too – most linked to the shoreline TCPs. Yet, interviewees also report a range of “intangible effects” such as the loss of privacy brought with the “tourist gaze” – including privacy during family or ceremonial events. Huna interviewees suggest that “disrespect,” often inadvertent, shown in myriad forms by cruise ships and passengers erodes the overall integrity of the Bay. In turn, they suggest that these tangible and intangible effects undermine and erode their long-term relationship with the Bay and with specific sites (including TCPs) within the Bay. The “integrity of relationship” is a precondition for TCP eligibility, hence, erosion of any such relationship is considered an impact to the TCP itself. Indeed, the integrity of relationships to Glacier Bay’s constituent beings – whether sacred mountains like Mt. Fairweather, ancestral spirits at Margerie Glacier, nesting birds as at South Marble Island, or returning salmon at Berg Bay – rather than impersonal “resources” are precisely what Huna Tlingit aim to respect and maintain through ongoing reciprocal relations. Despite some recognition of the values inherent in these relationships, and some support for renewing and revitalizing them, the reigning paradigm of Glacier Bay as “wilderness” and scientific laboratory, itself a tradition and legacy of John Muir’s

vision, continues to hold sway in cruise ship tourism and other representations of the park (Thornton 2010). The dominance of the latter paradigm can lead to both a fundamental misunderstanding, or worse, a disorienting disrespect or dislocation of Huna Tlingit relationships to their traditional homeland.

Notions of “disrespect” and “dislocation” are complexly linked in Huna accounts of these adverse effects. While cruise ships certainly have tangible effects, it is important to note that many of the concerns expressed by interviewees reflect the fact that—for some portion of Huna Tlingit—cruise ships have been symbolically significant too. For these individuals, cruise ships are emblematic of displacement and the loss of access and control over this uniquely important part of their traditional homeland. People suggest that they were “removed from the Bay”—having cabins and other trappings of permanent settlement removed along with curtailed resource harvests—in part due to NPS policies that consider these incompatible with the “pristine” environments of the Bay. The presence of “small cities” of tourists, as the ships are sometimes called, coming and going seems contradictory—dwarfing the scale and impact of past Huna occupation in their view, and raising suspicions that Huna displacement was significantly shaped by policies that privileged the needs of other social classes, ethnicities, and economic interests. Wanda Culp likens the park to other NPS units where Native sacred places have been transformed into monuments to non-Native interests: “I think of that monument they have down south with the three presidents’ faces...Right in the middle of Indian Country...That’s what our Glacier Bay is, Mount Rushmore” (WC). Every ship that passes may bring wakes, exhaust, potential trash and myriad forms of potential “disrespect.” Yet, every ship that passes is also a reminder that, in their view, the United States took away Tlingit access and autonomy in this place to prioritize recreational uses. This perception has moderated significantly in recent years as the village of Hoonah hosts their own cruise ship passengers at Icy Strait Point, and takes part in a certain number of cruise-ship based interpretive programs, but persists in some segment of the community.

Hosting is clearly a role that Huna Tlingits aspire to play in Glacier Bay. In Tlingit culture hosting provides a foundation for respect and reciprocity with visitors. It is a fundamental dynamic in Tlingit ceremonies, the most important of which, the so called memorial potlatch, or *ku.eex*, is named for the most basic action of hosting, “to invite.” Hosting empowers the Natives not only to invite, but to orient, educate, and set expectations for how tourist “guests” should understand and engage respectfully with “Haa Aani” (Tlingit Country). Hosting in Tlingit culture is a major responsibility, wherein one is expected not only to cater to guests needs, but also to safeguard their wellbeing while on Tlingit territory, as well as to share something about what makes the country special as an historical and ecocultural landscape. In the case of Glacier Bay this means telling how Tlingits came to inhabit Glacier Bay; how they were driven out by glacial advances of the Little Ice Age; how John Muir sought their guidance in navigating the Bay to learn about the glacial history of North America; how they came

to be dispossessed of their land and waters through the processes of colonization, land claims, conservation and park enclosure; and finally how they are enacting their “repatriation” (Thornton 2010) into the park through a variety of means, including traditional food gathering and spiritual relationships and central involvement in hosting tourists. It would be incumbent on tourists to receive this orientation to the park, which in turn would become the basis for guests’ reciprocating through: 1) acknowledgement of the hosts’ ongoing role as “keepers of the treasure” (see Thornton 2010; Marvin, et al 1995), and 2) respectful behavior within the Bay so as to avoid harmful impacts to the lands and waters of Glacier Bay.

The findings of the current research have broad implications in terms of future tribal consultation and compliance activities relating to changes to vessel quotas or operations that might affect the Traditional Cultural Properties discussed here. In light of the findings of this study, it is likely that there are properties that will meet the standards for listing on the National Register of Historic Places under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act—including, but not limited to places that meet the criteria established in *National Register Bulletin 38* for the listing of Traditional Cultural Properties. Moreover, in light of the clear religious significance of locations within Glacier Bay proper, it is almost certain that any planning that might affect vessel impacts on the TCPs identified in this document will need to consider the implications of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and Executive Order 13007 (Sacred Sites). If it is found that vessel quota changes, or other planning for these areas is expected to adversely affect Alaska Native people disproportionately relative to the larger population of regional residents and visitors, the NPS may need to assess the implications in light of Executive Order 12898 (Environmental Justice). Brief descriptions of these laws and executive orders are provided in Appendix 2. In light of findings for this study, and in those that have preceded it, it is clear that legal authorities pertaining to archaeological sites and burials (such as the Archaeological Resources Protection Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) also will be relevant in a broader assessment of certain effects such as shoreline erosion. In the event of a full planning effort centered on vessel quotas or other activities that may materially alter cruise ship effects on culturally significant resources, it is anticipated that the NPS will be engaging Hoonah as well as all other potentially affected Alaska Native communities as per the terms of NEPA, as well as Executive Order 13175 (on Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments); the Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies (issued by President George W. Bush on September 23, 2004); the Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies (issued by President Barack Obama on November 5, 2009); *NPS Management Policies 2006* (sections 1.11.2, 5.2.1, and 8.5); NPS Director’s Order 71A, and other pertinent federal guidance on consultation responsibilities of federal agencies.

It is important to note that many National Park Service staff share the same concerns about resource impacts that are commonly expressed by the Huna Tlingit. Yet, many Huna see the NPS as being complicit in developing cruise ship tourism, and the NPS is sometimes implicated for ship issues and negative visitor behaviors that are clearly beyond the agency's direct control. So too, some Huna suggest that the NPS is potentially swayed by formidable monetary and political pressures to increase cruise ship numbers. Continued and open communication on these matters may yet help illuminate points of common interest.

In this light, we strongly suggest that this dialogue could be constructively enhanced by an in-depth discussion of what hosting, guesting, and, most importantly, respect, should mean in the context of major tourism operations with potential "impacts" on fragile ecosystems and sacred homelands. Foundational conceptual discussions of these matters would more clearly expose the nature of these critical tourism concepts and roles across cultures and also provide a specific bridge into how best to deal with them within the evolving parameters of ecosystem and cultural management. Such a sincere set of discussions, as a process, would in itself surely engender respect between Park management and Huna Tlingit leadership. It is likely to foster continued rapport on matters of mutual interest and to point the way toward satisfactory outcomes that are acceptable to both parties.

If there are positive sides to cruise ship traffic in Glacier Bay, according to Huna interviewees, it is twofold. First, cruise ships bring perennial economic opportunities to a rural area in which relative few such opportunities exist. Icy Strait Point, the large cruise ship destination facility in Hoonah now employs many residents of that community conveniently close to home, allowing the community to generate new cash economies involving, for example, traditional crafts and to reap some of the social and economic benefits of "ecotourism." Secondly, but no less important, the receptive "captive audience" of cruise ship passengers presents a rare opportunity to present Tlingit history and culture, as well as to impart the values of "respect" that are seen as so critical to maintaining a healthy balance in Glacier Bay. Cruise-ship based interpretive programs, especially on the Holland America cruise ships, has allowed Huna representatives to serve as "hosts" to Glacier Bay visitors and to impart some of these understandings and values. Icy Strait Point has allowed such opportunities too, but cruise ships do not currently visit both this facility and Glacier Bay due to scheduling constraints. An integrated and collaborative tourism plan between Huna Tlingits and the National Park could yield co-benefits and mitigate adverse impacts, especially if conducted with a mind towards promotion and conservation of those values associated with Glacier Bay and its environs as both a landscape of magnificent beauty and as a Tlingit homeland comprised of traditional cultural properties of continuing significance today. This plan is likely to involve Huna participation in interpretative efforts that allow them to assume the traditional role as "host" rather than as a "guest" in this core of their traditional homeland.

This work has identified a number of opportunities and challenges that might serve as a basis for future recommendations. Significantly, this research has been completed prior to the completion of TCP documentation or nominations by the NPS—a somewhat backwards sequencing of tasks, but a sequencing that was necessary for administrative reasons. The completion of TCP documentation and nomination forms is a significant need within the park, and the findings of the current study remain incomplete until those steps are taken. Documentation of TCPs within the park should accentuate the intangible values of these places that are essential to their eligibility to the National Register and to their continued “integrity” as defined in National Register Bulletin 38 and by Huna Tlingit themselves in the dozens of interviews conducted for this study.

Though the researchers did not systematically weigh opinions on the matter, we did encounter widespread opposition to the increase in total cruise ship numbers within Glacier Bay proper. Some certainly expressed a desire to see cruise ship numbers reduced. In many cases however, this was a function of the interviewees having observed, heard about, or anticipated adverse impacts of cruise ships and their passengers. We did encounter enthusiasm for working with existing cruise ship tourism enterprises to improve Tlingit representation and economic advantages in tourism, and to minimize the cruise ship industry’s adverse effects on sacred sites and relationships of Huna Tlingits with their Glacier Bay homelands.

Interviewees suggest that the effects could be moderated through a number of mechanisms. This might include approved Tlingit “hosts” as interpreters on *all* cruise ships entering the Bay, or as many as is practicable to provide an orientation to Glacier Bay. The orientation ritual could be used to convey the importance of transition from a “outside waters” to the sacred landscape/seascape and the presence of ancestral spirits in the “inside” waters of Glacier Bay (from an “insider’s” perspective, as it were). Education on protocols for acting in the Bay, including around the glaciers, and the cultural precepts that inform them could become mandatory as well, to serve as a kind of “safety briefing” to avoid the deleterious consequences of disrespectful behavior. Another “ritual” or reminder might be offered at Margerie Glacier, again as both a means to communicate the profound relationship that Huna Tlingits have with this glacier, and to avoid passengers, wittingly or unwittingly, engaging in disrespectful behavior towards the sacred feature.

There are also simple steps that might help to contain the tangible adverse effects of cruise ship traffic. This might include reducing allowed ship speeds even further so as to reduce their wake and taking additional steps to contain any inadvertent discharges of trash, oil, and wastewater.

Specific management guidelines could be developed that reflect the findings of this investigation—outlining specific impacts, proposed metrics for those impacts based on

cultural criteria, and outlining a program to monitor, assess, and potentially minimize or mitigate impacts as data are compiled. This monitoring could be built into broader, existing park monitoring programs and include natural resource variables of concern to Huna Tlingit (such as whale strikes, water quality data, surveys of shoreline litter, and the like). In addition, some interviewees suggested that the intensity and nature of impacts should be monitored over time, to assess changes in both observable impacts and community responses. As one interviewee notes, “you need to have a living document that allows people to revisit these issues, to assess changes and progress” (JS). This might involve follow-up meetings or research activities that expand on or repeat portions of the current research in the future. A few interviewees hinted that NPS natural resource management might also be retooled somewhat to reflect Tlingit resource management concepts, such as interspecific reciprocity. Broadly, such “retooling” might begin with a discussion about the nature of “respect” which, in turn, could help clarify management guidelines concerning impacts, roles and responsibilities, so as to foster and maintain respectful relations.

Interviewees also note that the impacts outlined in this document are much more likely to be minimized or mitigated if the NPS and Huna Tlingit can maintain a candid rapport and enhance their enduring relationships, based on respect and mutual accommodation. The turnover of senior NPS staff, some suggest, creates complications and challenges, as institutional memory is lost in the process. Some employees – Wayne Howell was mentioned frequently – were said to have had demonstrable positive effects on this relationship, in part due to their commitments over time. The current presence of an NPS employee (Mary Beth Moss) in Hoonah, who is part of the Hoonah community, was also said to have significantly improved communication. (This can be contrasted to the situation in Yakutat, where the Park is reducing its presence and staff in the community, which local Tlingit leaders saw as a profoundly negative development.) Some advocated taking additional steps to support and expand these kinds of connections, so that the NPS and Huna might see clearly their points of mutual interest and work together to address concerns before they might grow to formidable proportions.

Some advocate “building threads between Huna and Glacier Bay National Park” through shared interpretive programs that depict the Huna and NPS as co-hosts of the Bay (AN) by recruiting seasonal interpreters locally and from Hoonah in particular. Some even suggested a specialized “Chief of Cultural Interpretation” might eventually be positioned within the park. Interviewees suggested that Huna elders be involved more directly in the training of interpreters – both NPS and Huna interpreters. The same goes for the production of interpretive literature and media. For example, the Hoonah Indian Association and NPS collaborative project to document indigenous place names within the Park and Preserve has led to several products, including a wall map (HIA 2006, Thornton 2012), interactive multimedia display, and several brochures (cf. <http://www.nps.gov/glba/historyculture/upload/Tlingit-Place-names.pdf>).

These guides to the Tlingit geography of the park have proven to be valuable resources. The place names constitute artifacts in themselves, providing remarkable descriptions of the natural and cultural history of the area (Thornton 1995, 2008), which can be appreciated by all visitors, and used by managers to avoid adverse impacts to named sites and their associated cultural landscapes. Some interviewees also expressed interest in producing an interpretive CD, vetted for accurate information, that could be shown on cruise ships or provided to independent visitors through the visitors' center as an orientation guide, as well as made available for purchase.

Huna Tlingit aspirations to strengthen and renew their connections with the landscape reflect the supreme values of Glacier Bay as homeland and as a place that lies at the foundation of individual and group identities of Huna Tlingit. These values have persisted despite loss of autonomous control over traditional Huna homelands in Glacier Bay and the incremental phase-out of many traditional uses. These values, in turn, may be significantly strengthened by ongoing collaboration with NPS staff and with the recent revival of group access and activities within the park, especially if they are carried out in ways that are consistent with Huna Tlingit efforts to maintain a degree of self-determination and the long-term survival of traditional protocols. To the extent that these traditional Native use values can be recognized as cultural values and a type of "cultural resource" within GLBA, a foundation can be laid for maintaining enduring Tlingit relationships with TCPs and "repatriating" Tlingit cultural values within the park through a program of respectful and reciprocal engagements with these culturally significant landscapes. If successful, the future will surely involve some level of NPS-Tlingit cooperation, supporting the long-term continuity of Huna Tlingit culture while also supporting the mandates of the agency and the integrity of the lands and resources of Glacier Bay. Even if these lands and resources are valued somewhat differently by Huna and the NPS, according to their own senses of history and love of place (see Thornton 2014 [2010]), both groups share a passionate desire to preserve the integrity of the landscape and its values. From this shared foundation rise the potentials for collaboration and cooperation on many issues of mutual interest, for the benefit of future generations of Huna and Glacier Bay visitors alike.

SOURCES

Interviewees

- 1) Ernestine Abel
- 2) Thomas Abel
- 3) Don Bolton
- 4) Christina Contreras
- 5) Wanda Culp
- 6) George Dalton, Jr.
- 7) Hattie Dalton
- 8) Richard Dalton, Jr.
- 9) Veronica Dalton
- 10) Marjorie Dick
- 11) Johann Dybdahl
- 12) Faith Grant
- 13) Ken Grant
- 14) Dennis Gray, Sr.
- 15) Howard Gray
- 16) Adam Greenwald
- 17) Gordon Greenwald
- 18) Alice Haldane
- 19) Katherine Hanlon
- 20) Sam Hanlon
- 21) Ernie Hillman
- 22) Lillian Hillman
- 23) James Jack, Sr.
- 24) Owen James
- 25) Ruth James
- 26) Marlene Johnson
- 27) Irene Lampe
- 28) Jack Lee
- 29) George Lindoff
- 30) Bob Loescher
- 31) Al Martin
- 32) Carolyn Martin
- 33) George Martin
- 34) John Martin, Sr.
- 35) Tom Mills
- 36) Harold McKinley
- 37) Floyd Peterson

- 38) Mary Rudolph
- 39) Adeline St. Clair
- 40) Jeff Skaflestad
- 41) Harlene Warford
- 42) Frank White
- 43) Jake White
- 44) Lily White
- 45) Carol Williams
- 46) Frank O. Williams, Jr.
- 47) Melvin Williams
- 48) Ron Williams
- 49) Daphne Wright
- 50) Frank Wright, Jr.

Interviewee Codes

- | | |
|------------------------|----|
| 1) Ernestine Abel | EA |
| 2) Thomas Abel | TA |
| 3) Don Bolton | DB |
| 4) Christina Contreras | CC |
| 5) Wanda Culp | WC |
| 6) George Dalton, Jr. | GD |
| 7) Hattie Dalton | HD |
| 8) Richard Dalton, Jr. | RD |
| 9) Veronica Dalton | VD |
| 10) Marjorie Dick | MD |
| 11) Johann Dybdahl | JD |
| 12) Faith Grant | FG |
| 13) Ken Grant | KG |
| 14) Dennis Gray, Sr. | DG |
| 15) Howard Gray | HG |
| 16) Adam Greenwald | AG |
| 17) Gordon Greenwald | GG |
| 18) Alice Haldane | AH |
| 19) Katherine Hanlon | KH |
| 20) Sam Hanlon | SH |
| 21) Ernie Hillman | EH |
| 22) Lillian Hillman | LH |
| 23) James Jack, Sr. | JJ |
| 24) Owen James | OJ |
| 25) Ruth James | RJ |

26) Marlene Johnson	MJ
27) Irene (Jean) Lampe	IL
28) Jack Lee	JL
29) George Lindoff	GL
30) Bob Loescher	BL
31) Al Martin	AM
32) Carolyn Martin	CM
33) George Martin	GM
34) John Martin, Sr.	JM
35) Tom Mills	TM
36) Harold McKinley	HM
37) Floyd Peterson	FP
38) Mary Rudolph	MR
39) Adeline St. Clair	AC
40) Jeff Skaflestad	JS
41) Harlene Warford	HW
42) Frank White	FW
43) Jake White	JW
44) Lily White	LW
45) Carol Williams	CW
46) Frank O. Williams, Jr.	FO
47) Melvin Williams	MW
48) Ron Williams	RW
49) Daphne Wright	DW
50) Frank Wright, Jr.	FR
51) Anonymous	AN

Other Tribal Consultants and Advisors

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 Mark McKernan

Harold McKinley
Paul Rudolph
O.G. Schoonover
Lily White
Frank Williams III
Ron Williams

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONS POSED IN PROJECT INTERVIEWS

Interviews were based upon the following questions:

- What is your Name/Native Name? Clan/Moeity? House group? Kwáan?
- Where did you grow up?
- How does Glacier Bay fit into your family history? Does your family, clan or house group have historical claims to certain places there? Is there personal (e.g., allotments) or cultural property (e.g., *at.óowu* – names, stories, songs, crests, regalia, etc.) associated with these places?
- Are there certain places that you sometimes visit in Glacier Bay?
- If so, what kinds of things do you do at Glacier Bay (visit cultural sites, hunt, gather berries, etc.)?
- Are there places in Glacier Bay that you consider to be sacred to you, to your Clan, House group, and/or Kwáan?
- If so, what do these places mean to you? Are they important to maintaining Huna identity today? If so, how?
- Are specific protocols or ritual activities associated with these places? Please describe them.
- Do cruise ships affect these places? If so, how?
- If cruise ships do affect such places, how does proximity of cruise ship traffic relate to these effects? Are there specific ways that cruise ships could reduce these effects?
- Do cruise ships affect your use of, or access to, these places? If so, how? Do you make any special effort to avoid them?
- Do these effects have broader impacts upon Huna cultural traditions (such as affecting intergenerational transmission of site-specific knowledge, or reducing participation in certain rituals that take place outside of Glacier Bay)?
- If additional cruise ships enter Glacier Bay would this alter these effects on cultural sites and practices in your view? Would one additional ship per day make a difference? Or two? If so, please explain.
- Does your family hunt or fish in Glacier Bay?
- Does your family gather anything in Glacier Bay (such as berries, gull eggs, mountain goat wool)?
- Do cruise ships affect any of these culturally significant natural resources that you gather (such as by affecting their quality, quantity or distribution)? If so, how?
- Do cruise ships affect the timing or intensity of your procurement of these resources? If so, how?

- If cruise ships affect your decision to visit at certain times or at certain places, are there other resources, or other resource locations, that you or other Huna Tlingit using more intensively due to displacement from areas affected by cruise ships in Glacier Bay?
- If additional cruise ships enter Glacier Bay would this alter these effects on food resource harvests and other resource gathering practices in your view? Would one additional ship per day make a difference? Or two? If so, please explain.
- Are there certain management prescriptions that you would suggest to the National Park Service so as to help protect places and things that you are concerned about in Glacier Bay (such as limiting the number of ships entering the Bay per day, restricting cruise ship access to particular sites, or setting aside entire days when cruise ships do not enter the Bay). Please elaborate on any details you may have to offer regarding your recommendations and how they might work in practice. Please describe why you feel that these recommendations represent desirable options for Glacier Bay.
- Follow-up questions on specific events or cases that the interviewee feels are relevant in explaining the cultural activities and cruise ship impacts at Glacier Bay.

Questions were structured to facilitate open-ended, semi-formal interviews; as is usual with anthropological research, the anthropologists involved recognized that these questions are only the starting point in the process of gathering information. Anthropologists are trained to be flexible in adapting their interviews to different interviewees, acknowledging that different life experiences, age, and other factors will influence interviews and, if these factors are anticipated, the interviewer can direct the questioning into new and illuminating directions. Therefore, Deur and Thornton posed questions in addition to those outlined here in order to facilitate the investigation of topics on which particular interviewees were especially knowledgeable.

APPENDIX 2:

SYNOPSIS OF KEY FEDERAL LAWS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS REFERENCED IN THE TEXT

National Historic Preservation Act (Sections 106 and 110)

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (NHPA or P.L. 91-190) exists to facilitate the documentation of historical properties, the nomination of such properties to the National Register of Historical Places, and to provide for the consideration, minimization or mitigation of the effects of federal actions on such properties. Section 110 of the NHPA makes federal agencies responsible for the identification, evaluation and nomination of properties in their jurisdiction to the National Register of Historical Places; that such properties be managed in a way that considers the preservation of their historic and cultural values; and that similar considerations be given to historical properties that are beyond an agency's jurisdiction but potentially affected by agency actions. Section 106 of the NHPA requires that for any federal undertaking (including any project funded or permitted by the NPS), the NPS must consult with federally recognized tribes at the planning or scoping stage of a project to identify any properties or resources of significance to the tribes that would be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historical Places. Such properties are often, though not exclusively, Traditional Cultural Properties as defined in National Register Bulletin 38, but can also consist of "Cultural Landscapes" or other multiple-property districts that include places meeting Bulletin 38 criteria. If, through this consultation, it is determined that National Register-eligible properties may be affected by the proposed undertaking, the agency must consider the effects of the undertaking on them and consult with the interested tribes about ways to "resolve" adverse effects. If adverse effects are expected, the process will involve the development of an agreement document (a Programmatic Agreement or MOA) in consultation with the traditionally associated Alaska Native tribes regarding the means that will be employed to consider and to resolve them – to "minimize" or "mitigate" the adverse effects of any proposed federal or federally-permitted action.

Specific places within Glacier Bay proper appear to warrant National Register listing under Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) criteria, however, as outlined in Bulletin 38. In light of the fact that the distribution of potentially TCP eligible sites and other culturally significant "contributing resources" is discontinuous, Glacier Bay proper might best be treated as a "district" rather than as a conventional TCP. One such alternative, a Cultural Landscape nomination might allow the NPS to effectively "capture" the range of physical elements of the landscape, along with all of the cultural knowledge and intangible values that are nonetheless potentially contributing to Glacier Bay's National Register eligibility. In addition to seeking guidance from the NPS Cultural Landscape program, documenting Glacier Bay proper as a Cultural Landscape may require a review of National Register Bulletins 18 and/or 30, as well as National Register Preservation 36, the 1996 NPS *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, as well as other pertinent guidance on cultural landscape documentation and

nomination. Whether pursuing a TCP or Cultural Landscape nomination, it is likely that the criteria identified for National Register eligible contributing resources as specified in National Register Bulletin 38 would be appropriate as the basis for inclusion of any individual site or resource within a larger multiple-property nomination. Potentially eligible areas would include not only National Park Service managed lands, but might also include Native allotments sitting within and adjacent to NPS lands.

American Indian Religious Freedom Act and Executive Order 13007

Both AIRFA (Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469) and Executive Order 13007 explicitly protect the religious interests of Alaska Native communities. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) affirms that the constitutionally guaranteed religious freedoms shared by all U.S. citizens also apply to Native Americans, including Alaska Natives. The law is in many respects a corrective action undertaken after almost two centuries of federal or federally-supported efforts to undermine traditional American Indian religious practices. This law states that it is the “policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise [their] traditional religions...including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects...” that are needed for the “exercise [of] traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians.”

The closely related Executive Order 13007 (Sacred Sites) protects Native American access to sacred sites, as well as the physical integrity of such sites. Specifically, this Executive Order specifies that federal agencies to “(1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites.” In order to accommodate this provision on lands managed or affected by federal agencies, the identity of such sites must be identified through consultation and be substantiated through information provided by federally recognized tribes or an Alaska Native individual of such a tribe “determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion.”

Executive Order 12898 (Environmental Justice)

Executive Order 12898 (Environmental Justice) is a Clinton-era executive order which has been of growing importance in federal planning and permitting assessments – spurring both department-level regulation as well as separate “environmental justice” sections of Environmental Impact Statements for federal actions. This Executive Order limits federal or federally-permitted actions that might have a disproportionately negative impact upon minority populations, including but not limited to Alaska Native communities. Specifically, this EO specifies that “to the greatest extent practicable and permitted by law...each Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations in the

United States” including populations that utilize resources affected by federal lands and permitting actions. The EO explicitly references federally recognized tribes and give the Department of the Interior primary responsibility for insuring compliance with this EO within programs affecting these tribes.

It is likely that Hoonah would meet the EO12898 standard as being both a “minority” and “low income” community. An argument can be made that any adverse effects of future federal actions relating to vessel quotas are likely to meet the threshold of having a “disproportionate adverse effect” on that community relative to non-Natives in the region under the terms of EO12898. For example, if a specific federal policy, permitting action, or planning decision results in a measurable increase in erosion associated with vessel traffic that might, in turn, affect the integrity of culturally and dietarily significant natural resources, allotments or cultural sites, and it can be demonstrated that these adverse effects are not shared equally by non-Natives – such as the non-Native people of the region or non-Native visitors - this would be inconsistent with the guidance in EO12898. In such a case, the agency may be required to demonstrate that it has undertaken efforts to minimize or mitigate those effects that disproportionately affect the Alaska Native community “to the greatest extent practicable and permitted by law.”

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA, or (P.L. 101-601 and implementing regulations) also applies to planning and permitting on federal lands. This law exists to repatriate Native American (including Alaska Native) human remains, funerary objects, and certain types of cultural items from federal or federally supported collections to appropriate Native American communities. NAGPRA also protects the integrity of Native American burials on federal lands or on lands that might be affected by federal or federally-permitted actions. This facet of NAGPRA seeks to protect Native American graves and encourages *in situ* preservation of archeological sites containing human remains and associated funerary objects. The law includes provisions for the disposition of human remains and cultural items discovered inadvertently, either accidentally or through planned excavations, on park lands. Under Sections 3002(c), 3002(d), 3003, 3004, and 3005, NAGPRA regulations require consultation throughout certain processes: before intentional excavations, immediately after inadvertent discoveries, before the completion of inventories, and upon the completion of summaries of those inventories.

APPENDIX 3:

CULTURALLY SIGNIFICANT NATURAL RESOURCES HARVESTED IN GLACIER BAY

The material that follows provides a select description of natural resource harvests that were mentioned by Tlingit interviewees in the course of the current research. Many of these resources are reported by those interviewees to be affected in some manner by cruise ships (such as through exposure to noise pollution or exhaust). Access and harvest traditions are also reported to be affected somewhat through various mechanisms. These impacts are discussed elsewhere in the document; here, the nature of these resources and their harvest is illuminated in sufficient detail to place the discussion of impacts in a general cultural context.

Salmon, Halibut, and Commercial Fish Harvests

Salmon was, and continues to be, a major component in the Tlingit diet. Huna fishermen spent significant periods of time in Glacier Bay historically, both fishing (on seine boats and on skiffs, gillnetting, seining, trolling and jigging) and smoking salmon (especially King, dog, coho, and sockeye). Two of the four major TCP complexes – Chookahéeni/ Berg Bay, and Bartlett Cove – were identified as having major fishing areas associated with them.⁵⁶

Summer salmon fishing in Glacier Bay was marked by the spring run in April and concluded with the fall run in September. Alice Haldane recalls, “they used to go there to...gather all their food for winter [at the allotment near Berg Bay]. They’d go there late April, and they’d leave there late October. They’d get their fish, their meats and smoke it there” (AH). Similarly, Melvin William’s father told him about his grandfather’s fish camp in Glacier Bay, where they would prepare fish in the middle of September, to be eaten in the winter months ahead: “Berg Bay was one of the most popular places...in the fall...part of the food gathering process. Berg Bay was a big place for getting the fish, mostly coho” (MW).

Salmon were harvested in the bays and then processed and smoked at nearby seasonal campsites in smokehouses. George Lindoff remembers,

Oh we camped in the Bay when we used to go for subsistence. Yeah, we used to go by Strawberry Island and just camp on there, and jig for halibut and king salmon, small king salmons. They’d just cook that up (GL).

Frank O. Williams Jr. recalls that he would spend the entire summer in Glacier Bay, fishing and harvesting resources for the winter and returning to school in the fall after the last dog salmon had run: “Sometimes it get late for school, because in Dundas Bay River, they have the dog salmon run, one of the last ones in September” (FO).

Salmon fishing in Glacier Bay continued throughout the winter on offshore locations using seining and hand trolling methods. Thus, Dennis Gray remembers winter trolling in Glacier Bay for salmon: one seine boat would tow six or seven skiffs and their owners into the Bay, sharing the expense of fuel. As he explains,

Years ago, a lot of us would go up there skiff fishing, you know. We’d get on one of the purse seiners and we’d all take our barrels of gas, and we’d all get a box of groceries, and we’d camp out on the seine boat...And we’d anchor up like in the Fingers, anchor the boat in there, and then we’d all get in our skiffs and take off to our own special fishing spots, you know, and day fish. Then we’d ice them down, we had ice on the big boat, and we’d all mark our – different marks for our salmon. We’d all ice them down in the hold of the big boat...If things got too slow, you know, then we’d move on. We’d move onto to another area, come out of the Bay, and go out to Inian Islands or Idaho Inlet, or Gull Cove, or Hawk Inlet, so we covered quite a bit of area (DG).

Certain places were known to be especially good at certain times for certain species, such as the King salmon that were found within the Bay. Tom Mills, for example, commented on the abundance of king salmon just above Beartrack Cove, at Rat Cliff (Kutseen Gil’i). He explained how he would,

catch a lot of king salmon there. And one time we were fishing king salmon up there, and we never had to start up the engines, our trolling engines. Just baiting up our rods and throw the bait overboard and wham, the rod struck. And the people couldn’t believe us when they told them that we fished king salmon until we couldn’t – until our arms were so tired, we couldn’t pull anymore king salmon, or else there was no more room in our skiffs (TM).

For many interviewees, commercial fishing (hand trolling, seining and longlining) for salmon and halibut in Glacier Bay is a memory that dates back to the 1950s and 1960s. Commercial fishing was not only family business but a way of life for Tlingit men and women. As Dennis Gray explains,

[We] spent many, many years in the Bay commercial fishing with my uncles [Eli and Sam Hanlon, Sr.], and out of the whole fleet they were the only two that fished Glacier Bay as much as they did. I mean other boats would go in and out of there but most of our longlining with my uncles was done in that bay, Glacier Bay. They very seldom left the Bay to try to haul the fish in anywhere else (DG).

Commercial fishermen spend much of the year on the water, where an intimate knowledge of Glacier Bay is crucial for navigation and a familiarity with the ecology is required for a successful harvest. Melvin Williams, born in Juneau in 1941 and raised in Hoonah, began fishing with his dad when he was nine years old,

I fished in Glacier Bay with my dad, commercial fished and we got food in Glacier Bay...Yeah, we halibut fish in there. We did some black cod, and after the commercial season's over, we went up there with our speedboats, and we fished for king salmon in there. I know – well I might have forgotten some places, but I know pretty much the whole of Glacier Bay (MW).

The following locations were identified as primary fishing grounds for salmon in and near to Glacier Bay proper: Cape Fairweather, Icy Point, North Inian Pass, Point Carolus, around Willoughby Island, Fingers Bay, near Berg Bay, above/around Russell Island, Queen Inlet, the mouth of Muir Inlet, Beartrack Cove, Geikie Inlet, and Berg Bay. Halibut were said to be commonly harvested at the following locations: Beardslee Islands, Beartrack Cove, around North and South Marble islands, around the Inian islands, Port Althorp, Idaho Inlet, Shaw islands, the mouth of Muir Inlet, outside of Geikie Inlet, north of Drake Island, Adams Inlet, and around Russell Island.

Some interviewees continued to fish in Glacier Bay into the 1980s, but very few were able to obtain permits for commercial harvest (Mackovjak 2010). Ernie Hillman first entered Glacier Bay aboard his brother's boat as a deckhand in 1944, and continued to fish commercially until 1986,

1944, I was on my brother's, my older brother's fishing boat, and we'd fish up there. He fished crab and shark, and so I was like his deckhand like, or his go-for. And then later on in years, I fished on big seine boats, going in there fishing, and around the outside you know, around Inian Islands. And then I got my own boat in '80...probably '84, '85, something like that. So I had my own trolling boat, and I fished all around, in and out of Glacier Bay, around the outside Icy Point and all that (EH).

Other families attempted unsuccessfully to secure permits, for a variety of reasons, and were soon expelled from the Glacier Bay fishery. George Dalton, Jr. recalled,

You can get a permit, a lifetime permit, but when you die that's it – you can't pass it on to your family...I didn't get a lifetime permit because I didn't keep my tickets from when I sold my fish. I brought pictures of the island [in the Beardslee Island group] where we lived, and told them what we did there, but I guess that wasn't enough...I thought it would be enough that we were the last ones. They knew we lived there...it was the only way we made our living...I don't blame the Park Service for wanting to protect it – I just wish they would let me fish (GD).

Many Huna also found employment in other facets of the fishing industry, such as in the canneries, as the need for cash employment increased alongside barriers to traditional subsistence lifestyles. Interviewees mentioned themselves or their families taking seasonal employment in the local canneries (Excursion Inlet, Idaho Inlet and Dundas Bay), salteries (Dry Bay) located in Glacier Bay or buying stations nearby.⁵⁷

Halibut is an especially important subsistence food for the Tlingit people, as well as a commercial fishery of importance. Interviewees identified the following locations as longstanding halibut fishing areas: North and South Marble islands, Leeland Island, Dundas Bay on the Fern Harbor side, Geikie Inlet, outside of Berg Bay and all the way up to Queen Inlet, and outside Russell Island. Many interviewees still have memories of fishing for halibut in the Bay when they were children accompanying parents on fishing boats. Ken Grant remembers,

We used to halibut fish in there [Glacier Bay] when we were growing up. My dad took us as crew, because we didn't have any business saying no. I mean, he said, 'You're going fishing with me,' and that was it. We were started at a very, very young age. I don't even think he took us for crew, but I recall fishing up in there (KG).

Halibut are considered a seasonal resource, available primarily in the spring and summer months, but as Frank O. Williams explains, "We also learned that halibuts here around are harder to catch in the off-season, but they're still there. King salmon, year-round, you can catch them too" (FO).

Other Fish and Shellfish

Other species of fish, as well as shellfish, were – and continue to be – an important part of the Huna diet, and Glacier Bay is host to a variety of these animals beyond the staples of halibut and salmon. Herring, for example, once spawned at Elfin Cove, inside Three Hill and between a place called *Sca.gee* (?) and the Porpoise islands; both fish and roe could be gathered there (TM).⁵⁸

Another important traditional food resource that interviewees mentioned harvesting in Glacier Bay was eulachon. In addition to being smoked, Huna families processed eulachon into oil for use as a multi-purpose condiment, often at processing stations immediately adjacent to riverine or estuarine harvesting sites. Tom Mills and his father harvested eulachon from Beartrack Cove,

We used to go up there and make eulachon oil. There's a great big pit area that we used to go pump it out of the house...We used to go catch all the eulachon, dump it all in that big pit, and let it ferment for a while, and then we'd have all the big trees and everything split up...to heat up the rocks. And we'd get two big green sticks and pick up the rocks and carry it over and throw them in there...and then the oils float up to the surface, they scooped that up, and that's what a lot of people use today (TM).

Crabbing, both for food and commercial purposes, was also done at various places throughout Glacier Bay, such as Sandy Cove and Hugh Miller Inlet. Clamming and mussel gathering were also commonplace in places where shoreline conditions allowed – often being undertaken coincident with commercial fishing or other activities in the Bay. Adeline St. Clair explains how she would harvest shellfish and gumboots as part of trolling trips into Glacier Bay with her father:

With my dad, when we were trolling, we'd go to Glacier Bay. We'd dig clams up there and cockles and get what they call those mussels, they're in little blue shells that look like slippers...And we'd get that because in Glacier Bay, they're about three, four inches long. The ones around here are only about an inch long. And we'd get gumboots (AS).

Responding to the fact that Glacier Bay was a dynamic environment, where shellfish habitat has generally expanded, often rapidly, over the last two hundred years, there is evidence that the Huna people intentionally transplanted shellfish to areas heretofore unoccupied by those species. This practice continued into the period of living memory. Johan Dybdahl, for example, describes one such attempt to transplant crab populations from Dundas Bay to Bartlett Cove:

But I fished crab in Glacier Bay, Dungeness with Duke Rothwell... [W]e actually moved crab, we moved crab from Dundas Bay up by Young Island, places like that and planted them along certain beaches close to Bartlett Cove. And I think they did very well, but I wouldn't guarantee that now that we, the population of the sea otter seems to be exploding (JD).

Harbor Seal

Harbor seals were hunted for fur, for meat and grease, and at certain times – when the State of Alaska sponsored such programs – for bounties too. Places close to the base of the tidewater glaciers were especially popular for this practice. Adeline St. Clair describes how she and her husband, Kelly, would travel up the Bay and go ashore, hunting seal near the head of the Bay,

After my husband and I got married...we'd sleep on the boat. We had a cabin cruiser we slept on, and we'd go ashore and do all the things we have to do to get our food. And then we'd go all the way inside the glacier...because the seals get on the icebergs, and we'd watch. We'd watch for one that has a white fur with black spots, and we'd shoot those ones, because they make pretty moccasins (AS).

Seal hunting at Drake Island and in Queen Inlet and in Johns Hopkins Inlet was said to be very good too. According to James Jack, Johns Hopkins was frequented for seal hunting, because it was a known pupping ground: "we seal hunted up here. We went up into Queen Inlet. The biggest place for seal hunting is up at Johns Hopkins, because that's where they do their pupping" (JJ).

Interviewees also identified additional locations for seal hunting. Melvin Williams did most of his seal hunting at Drake Island: "The seals we used to hunt here at Drake Island. There's a rock off there that was really good seal hunting. That's where we get most of our seal" (MW).⁵⁹

Seal hunting was sufficiently lucrative that it became a source of income in the 1950s and 1960s, driven by State programs that placed a bounty on the delivery of the seal noses and skins. Some Tlingit took advantage of this program during the winter to supplement their annual income. Ernie Hillman remembers seal hunting,

Yeah, wintertime...sometimes your money runs out, that you don't plan properly through the fall time...which was [why we] went up into Glacier

Bay there and shot seal, went for the hides...buyers would buy seal hides from us...about six of us went up there in November. We figure...if we can catch some seal, get lucky enough, we'll have some Christmas money for our family. So we got all together there, and went up there. A couple guys, another guy and I went up in his boat from Sitka, and then the other three guys come out of Hoonah, and we spent a week up there. 190-some seal we got. Of course you had to skin them all, you know, and wash them and salt them down and that. Then we brought them to Juneau and sold them to the buyer. We had some Christmas money. But it was cold! (EH).

George Lindoff describes the process of hunting and skinning the seal. His job was to cut off the nose for the government bounty,

We were just two men and their wives. Wives were skimmers...[The women could skin a seal] in just under ten minutes...Well, they do it in the hull...they don't clean it until after they get the skin. They'll skin it up. It is quick there. And in the water, you can just kind of pick up on the hide...After they get done with that, I go over there, try to get the nose off. I used to leave all the head on there. Don't matter. It's the nose. Try to get it off the skull there...We took the meat and some fat, mostly the fat, though, went here...sent some to Juneau (GL; cf. Wolfe and Mischler 1993).⁶⁰

In this way, traditional Tlingit hunting skills, long used for subsistence, were employed to allow Tlingit participation in the cash economy. Yet, like many aspects of Tlingit economic life, the commercial harvest and the subsistence harvest were combined in myriad ways. Certain traditional practices such as the complete use of the seal were set aside, some say temporarily, to accommodate these new activities, while hunting and navigation skills honed over centuries were applied to new economic pursuits.

Terrestrial Animals

In addition to hunting seals out in the Bay, the Huna Tlingit also hunted terrestrial animals such as black bear, mountain goat, deer, and groundhogs within Glacier Bay. As with seals, these terrestrial mammals provide food, but also fur and other products important to the material culture and economies of Huna people. Hunting and gathering of animal products was reported at places like Geikie Inlet, Point Gustavus, Willoughby Island, and Excursion Inlet. Bears were often hunted prior to the fish entering the rivers, to avoid the fishy flavor imparted to bear meat, while the hunting of mountain species such as mountain goat often occurred later in the year, when the snows receded and it was possible to navigate the land. Frank White describes land animals in hunting in Glacier Bay,

Any kind of food that we eat is there. Glacier Bay, we did all of our hunting. My grandmother, grandfather, uncles, they used to go up there for black bear...Early spring, as soon as the snow stops, it starts to melt, they'd find a cave, and they'd send the smallest guy in there, into the cave. He kills it in there...with a spear...in the fall time, the early fall, we'd go up, my father, my uncles, my grandfather. My grandfather's little seiner was named *Grace*, and that's what we used to go up in and hunt mountain goats and groundhogs (FW).

Mountain goats, as Tom Mills explains, could be hunted right from the beach, "We used to go up there and just shoot the goat right off of the cliff, and they come tumbling down, and right there on the beach by you" (TM).

Mountain goats were important to the Tlingit, as they were not only hunted for food, but their wool was also gathered to be woven together with other materials for use in Chilkat blankets and other regalia. Adeline St. Clair explains how she would help her mother-in-law prepare the mountain sheep and goat wool for weaving,

They used to get the wool from the sheep, mountain goats...they'd harvest it themselves and fix it. My job was to roll it for my mother-in-law...cut them in these strips, and then we'd divide it again, and then we'd divide it again. And then my job was to roll it. So it was used to make blankets (AS).

Similarly, Alice Haldane describes how her grandmother used mountain goat wool and porcupine quills to create regalia, "my brother's got the mountain goats, you know, and porcupine...My grandma used to use the quills for her beading and sewing the regalia" (AH).⁶¹ In recent generations, these items were harvested at locations like Gloomy

Knob and Willoughby Island. James Jack identifies Gloomy Knob as a place where mountain goats were both hunted and their wool gathered, “Yes [we used to hunt mountain goat at Gloomy Knob]. Yes, and there was gathering of – before my time – gathering of the goat hair for the Chilkat blankets” (JJ). A small number of individuals have resuscitated this practice in recent times, gathering modest quantities of mountain goat wool from the branches of brush and small trees in the park for weaving projects, especially relating to ceremonial regalia.

Deer, meanwhile, were sometimes hunted at such locations as Willoughby Island (to which they were said to have been transplanted by a Huna family) and Excursion Inlet. During fishing trips, Johan Dybdahl would stop at Willoughby Island to hunt deer in-between fishing tasks:

And I know one of the guys shot one of those...little tiny deer. Over time, they, you know, I don't know if they swam from there at all, but over time they seem to have gotten smaller. And tasted really good. They ate a lot of willows, you could be sure of that, you know, because there wasn't a whole lot of other types of vegetation on there at the time. But they were definitely smaller deer (JD).

Hoonah residents such as Ernie Hillman also hunted groundhogs or “whistlers” in Glacier Bay with their families:

Well, my brother, he's about three years older than me, I guess, he used to go up there with his parents there, and he'd shoot those groundhog, or those whistlers they call them...and that was their dinner, you know, for the day. He'd used to run up there, and they had a little single shot .22, you know, shoot them. You got one, they had supper (EH).

As all interviewees attest, the harvest of terrestrial mammals and animal products within Glacier Bay has all but ceased under NPS management in recent decades.

Seagull Eggs

Seagull egg gathering is a traditional activity that has long been carried out on rocky islands in Glacier Bay proper, especially North and South Marble Islands, but also in other places such as Berg Bay, Dundas Bay, Graves Harbor, Lituya Bay (Cenotaph Island), and at Inian Islands (see Hunn, et al 2002 for a complete list of locations). Eggs were, and continue to be, gathered in the springtime, sometimes as a side trip when salmon or halibut fishing. Gordon Greenwald, for example, remembers gathering

seagull eggs at South Marble, for personal consumption, as a side trip while trolling for salmon with his father in Glacier Bay in the 1960s,

We'd take a few hours or whatever off [from fishing] in the day, and run over and do what we did. Since we carried ice on the boat it was nice; we could put them [the fish] down in some form of refrigeration while we were there [collecting eggs] (GG).

Other trips were planned specifically for the purpose of gathering eggs.⁶²

Seagull egg gathering is a harvest tradition that continues to reunite families each spring, even for those who have been unable to participate directly in other resource harvests. Even though Daphne Wright grew up in Juneau, she has strong ties to Glacier Bay through her mother's side, and every summer the family would go to Glacier Bay for berry picking and to gather seagull eggs,

And then talk about the seagull egg gathering. And I know that I don't think I ever got to go, but they were always talking about it. And my uncle would always show slides of the family getting seagull eggs (DW).

As with certain other categories of natural resources, gull egg sharing is also widespread. As a resource practice that brings together families in various ways and fosters intergenerational exchanges of harvesting knowledge, seagull egg gathering remains a symbolically significant aspect of traditional resource harvesting practice today.

Plant Foods

Berry picking was a significant resource harvest tradition for the people who once lived in Glacier Bay and continues to play an important part in Tlingit life today.

Interviewees speak of a diverse range of berries sought in the Bay: strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, nagoon berries, soapberries, salmon berries, huckleberries, cloud berries, and others. Berry picking was said to be concentrated at certain key places such as Dundas Bay, Berg Bay, Bartlett Cove, Beardslee, , and at "Pancake Islands" [Flapjack Island]. Though somewhat beyond the study area, Dundas Bay fronts waters with cruise ship traffic and is arguably among the most popular berry-picking areas in the northern Tlingit world. Many interviewees mentioned this place, such as Daphne Wright, whose family traveled to Dundas Bay on overnight trips during the summer season to pick berries:

The times I remember as a child going up there, there was tons. I mean we would stay overnight. We would pick all day, stay overnight, pick the next day, be pulling wagonloads up to the house when we go home, like, with washtubs full of strawberries even. Yeah, it was just so neat (DW).

For Jean Lampe, simply the smell of strawberries brings back memories of berry picking in Glacier Bay: “it’s funny...the smell of strawberries stays in my mind, and so every time I smell strawberries, I think of that” (JL).⁶³

Strawberries were so popular as to warrant special trips to these places, while other berries, such as cloudberrries, were more often sought in the course of other activities undertaken at the Bay. George Lindoff, who has been harvesting berries in Glacier Bay since the age of five or six, remembers his grandmother picking cloudberrries, a berry that looks “somewhat like nagoon, but it’s yellow and red” (GL). Owen James also remembers picking cloudberrries (OJ).

Traditionally dried into “cakes” and other concoctions, berries are now jarred and jellied for the purpose of being consumed throughout the long winter months. As with gull egg gathering, berry harvesting traditions often involve broad segments of the community, including individuals who may not harvest other traditional food resources often. The distribution of jams, jellies, and other berry products in the Huna community reaffirms social ties and cultural practice as well. Adeline St. Clair explains how, when she was younger, she would gather berries for the elders,

When I was younger, I pick berries until all my jars are full. I pick berries every day until there’s no berries. I give a batch to an elder, Eva Davis, Mary Wilson, Edith Bean, Jessie Grey, Mary Johnson, Sally Vinson, and...Lily Johnny and Mrs. James, Jim Erickson’s mother-in-law... After I know they’re satisfied, I’ll still find places to pick berries. I’ll load it on the ferry and take it to the bunch that moved to Juneau, the elders there (AS).

Seaweed, both black and ribbon varieties, is another resource that has traditionally been harvested in Glacier Bay at various places, like Point Carolus. Like many other resources, seaweed was not the focus of independent resource harvesting trips, but was often gathered as part of fishing excursions. Gordon Greenwald explains, “We gathered some seaweeds around Point Carolus and so forth...never went there specifically for that purpose, but we happened to be there, and good tides, let’s do it” (GG).

NOTES

¹ This language is derived from NPS ethnography program guidance, which can be reviewed at <http://www.nps.gov/ethnography/parks/resources/>

² Other potential TCPs are being considered in the park, but most sit outside of Glacier Bay Proper, in such locations as Lituya Bay, Dry Bay, Dundas Bay, and Bousoulle Head.

³ Gordon Greenwald reports that surprisingly few young people understand this aspect of Glacier Bay's history,

Yes, it was all one big glacier. Now, the kids don't know that. See, that's another thing is the kids don't understand. And in fact, when I was talking with them this week, Glacier Bay, to them, was always a bay, and it was always just the glaciers like Margerie Glacier and John Hopkins. And they cannot visualize that it used to look horrendously different than it is now (GG).

⁴ Before the Little Ice Age, there were two Tlingit moieties within Glacier Bay, the Eagles and the Ravens. As Melvin William explains,

An Eagle would not marry another Eagle. A Raven would not marry a Raven. It had to be a Raven marrying an Eagle or the other way. So it wasn't 'Eagles here, Ravens there,' because of the marriage the Tlingits were all over the place [together] (MW).

Thus, the two moieties were interwoven through marriage despite maintaining distinct lineal territories. When the glaciers forced the outward dispersal of the Tlingit people from the Bay, the blended moieties spread across the landscape, creating the clan structures and territories that remain evident today.

Frank White tells the story of how the Chookaneidi came to settle in Hoonah via Spasski Bay:

Chookaneidí, they pointed towards...Spasski Bay...But the bear chased them out of Spasski...That's why they claim that bear, too, because the bear can't pay restitution. So they claim that they got a Bear House. We have a Bear House too. And anyway, when they got chased out of there, they moved up to Gathéeni (?) area. There was already a man living there with his wife. And he wore a brown bear shirt...But his wife was a Chookaneidí. That's why...they sent a couple guys up to him, and asked permission if they could live there for a while. So his name was [Tlingit name]. That guy that was living there already. So, since they was his in-laws, Chookaneidí...he said, 'Ok.' He was the one that walked all the way from [Gathéeni] Creek all the way to where the graveyard is. As he got closer to...those cliffs by the graveyard...The wind was passing it. It wasn't blowing at him, but where he was in Game Creek. So he realized this would be a good place to start a village. So that's why Hoonah, they called it Hoonah, but the correct pronunciation is [Xooniya]... [meaning] 'In the way of North Wind' (FW).

Frank White also describes the origins of Wooshkeetaan clan names in migration accounts:

[W]hen they got by Corpus Island, they stopped and floated around and they were asking each other, 'Which way are you going to go?' And some pointed towards Excursion Inlet. And then they announced, 'From now on, we're going to be Wooshkeetaan.' Woosh, means 'spread.' So there's Wooshkeetaan...and then came to us, [Tlingit term]. Means: 'We'll go

down this way and...find a place that looks good enough, we'll go to shore and we'll stay there. If we like the place, we're going to live there.' [Tlingit term]. That's where it was born (FW).

Clan names, in addition to identifying migratory paths, are often descriptive of the physical landscape of the place from which the clan originates. Frank White describes how and where the 'Grass People' derived their name:

There was an Eagle House and a Raven House. And then later, they start...building houses, because the tribe slowly was growing. A lot of those houses weren't named yet. They were just Eagles. But they had one great big building that they gather in. Both the Chookaneidís, Chookaneidís on Chookanhéeni site...they were named 'Grass People,' the long grass that hangs over the side of the [Berg] river. Even there, the Kaagwaantaans lived right across the river from them. But our main village in Glacier Bay was behind...we call it Sockeye River [Gathéeni] now...That's right behind Bartlett Cove where the slough is going up (FW).

The term 'Grass People,' not only orients the clan within the Tlingit social structure, it also identifies the people within their homeland, as it existed before the advancement of the Little Ice Age. Manifestly, the significance of Tlingit place names and clan names are illustrative not only of social structure, but also provide brief snapshots of past landscapes and environmental conditions within Glacier Bay. In this way, Tlingit identity has become interwoven with the "identity" or physical and environmental history of the Bay, personified in oral histories and songs.

⁵ *At.oow* applies to both impalpable things, such as names, crests, oral history, songs, as well as tactile things, such as landscapes, marinescapes, resources, regalia, and other material items. As Bob Loescher explains,

Ownership of things is really important to Tlingit people, you know. You know what I'm talking about. We own it. We own our clan crests. We own our names, our clans' protected certain areas. They're responsible for it. You know, the songs that we have there tell our history, link it. All kinds of things (BL).

⁶ Ultimately, it is the Chookanedi, the Huna people, which claim ownership of much of Glacier Bay. As Melvin Williams explains, "And Glacier Bay traditionally just belonged to everybody. I mean all the Huna people, all the Huna Tlingit." However, this sentiment is met with some resistance from other clans who recognize Glacier Bay as the origins of all Tlingit people. According to Dennis Gray,

But there's some instances where certain clans try to claim this and that, but all the clans were involved, they had to be. I mean there was no other way to exist...We were all there together, and we all left there together. Just the only claim, I think, you know, is where they settled once they left the Bay...that's where that Haa Aaní came from, 'This is our Land.' When we speak, we speak as one you know, one people. Not one clan (DG).

⁷ Some, such as Frank Wright, are unabashed in their suggestion that the Tlingit are being eliminated as a people as they are being cleansed from the landscape:

we got people that are fighting in different countries, because people [are] getting eliminated, you know...ethnic cleansing and all that kind of stuff. And here, we're in the United States and...we're getting cleansed! (FR).

⁸ There may be some basis for the claim that this prominent peak was named for marmot rather than the squirrel, as marmots are abundant on the subalpine slopes of this mountain and squirrels are not (Wayne Howell, pers. comm. 2010). Further investigation of this point may be warranted.

⁹ He adds that Icy Strait also had significance of this kind, probably amplified during the period of Glacier Bay glaciation: “The whole Icy Straits, we get any kind of fish, shellfish. Whole Icy Straits, it’s called Sit’ Tlein, ‘Big Dish’” (FW).

¹⁰ Illustrating this point, Lily White describes how Glacier Bay became a traditional food source according to oral history regarding a “two winter” event, in which some natural disturbance (probably a volcano) caused a temporary change in the weather and a decline in the natural resources available in Tlingit territory:

They call Glacier Bay, Haa Aaní, Our Land. Down through the generation we were taught. All of us. We still sing the song our people wrote out. Don’t ever let it go. And the food we’ll learn to eat. People—some in Hoonah already, it start snowing again. Berries were already blooming. Starvation came on our people, three years. We were all starving. There’s one place...the one that looks like a point. That’s where our people were. This one man sitting up hungry, they have peoples in there. He heard all this noise out there. He looked. It was about, he said, maybe 800 bears. They dug a big hole on the beach. They were sitting and eating. He was watching it. After they got through eating, all the bears left. They have baskets they make out of fruits. He grabbed it and ran over there. The deep ditch they dug, he said that clams, cockles, they were just strewn, just picking it like berries. He saw the bears eat it. After he washed it, he got to the house and just put it around the fire on shells. It was the first food they ate. This was the cause of Glacier Bay (LW).

In this way, Glacier Bay became a source of food, ending three years of famine, as well as a source of salvation for the Tlingit people during this uniquely difficult time.

¹¹ Still, there are indications that certain natural resources exhibited measurable characteristics that link them to Glacier Bay. Bob Loescher, for example, describes the distinctiveness of the King salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*) found in Glacier Bay:

“They’re a different color, and they average twenty to thirty pounders, average size, and a perfect size for when we sold them. The buyers really like that. Plus we could get them early in the year, and nobody else was able to get those fish” (BL).

Other interviewees made additional observations regarding the king salmon. Johan Dybdahl also mentions the particularities of the king salmon in Glacier Bay,

More white king salmon...for whatever reason, probably caught when we were fishing Glacier Bay. And if anybody looked at your fish ticket and that knew anything about the area, and you told them you were somewhere else. ‘Yeah right.’...There was a high preponderance of white kings caught in Glacier Bay (JD).

¹² This connection was an issue in the prosecution of a Tlingit hunter cited for killing a seal in Glacier Bay for a Hoonah memorial potlatch in the early 1990s; the deceased being honored had similarly hunted seal in Glacier Bay and preferred foods from there.

¹³ For example, Melvin Williams shared an experience he had when fishing in the Bay with his father,

When I was a kid fishing up there with my dad, halibut fishing, our cook, his name is David James, he lived right down there. I said, 'What's wrong with your ears?' He said, 'This happens every time I come to Glacier Bay.' He said, 'The air is so pure this time of the year things is turning green. The air is so fresh because of the green. The trees are getting more needles. The leaves, the grass is growing.' The oxygen in Glacier Bay was so pure his ears would start to get, like, a sunburn. And you can't blame it on the sun, because the sun wasn't shining (MW).

¹⁴ For example, Melvin Williams suggests that the decline of Tlingit seagull egg harvesting at Glacier Bay has caused the seagull population to grow disproportionately large:

So I told the Park guy over there, 'You know, we used to keep all those seagulls in check.' We'd go in there in Glacier Bay, and we'd harvest. If there's only one egg in there, you leave it alone. In every nest you leave one egg, one egg. There's three eggs in there, two eggs in there, we always leave one egg in every nest...now seagull population is totally out of control (MW).

Meanwhile, NPS staff note that the gull population has been measurably in decline in recent years (M.B. Moss pers. comm. 2014).

¹⁵ Sea otter population increases, they suggest, have adversely affecting populations of shellfish such as crab, clam and abalone. Bob Loescher observes,

What has occurred is that the Glacier Bay waters have become an incubator for the population of sea otters and they, those damn things, eat a third or more of their weight a day of the very things that we eat: clams and crabs and cockles and everything that we eat is the same thing. So they've become a competitor to us, and because of Glacier Bay, you can't kill those doggone sea otters, they migrated, inhabited all of Icy Straits. They're now going down Chatham Straits and the inside waters (BL).

Another interviewee, Wanda Culp, voiced her worry that "They're just going to expand into the Glacier Bay until there's nothing else left" (WC).

Sea lions, meanwhile, have displaced seal from certain rookery haul-out points and present occasional safety hazards to fishermen and food harvesters in Glacier Bay. Tom Mills makes the observation,

And there's so much sea lion up there now. It's driving all the hair seal out...All of this that you look at today, sea lion...or sea lion haul-outs, all used to be harbor seal haul-outs. We never saw sea lion way up there in Glacier Bay (TM).

Johan Dybdahl makes a similar observation about Geikie Inlet and Marble Island,

But you know the whole marinescape and stuff has also changed over time. I mean, we saw many, many more seals in the lower bay and the middle part of the Bay than are in it now...Geikie Rocks, for example, were just covered with seal. There were no massive amounts of sea lions on Marble Island. And there were a lot more seal at north and south Sandy. And up by Garforth...the sea lions have moved in, in great numbers compared to what it used to be (JD).

Wanda Culp describes how, at one time, Tlingit hunters managed the sea lion and sea otter populations,

And it was federal government that brought in the sea lions and the sea otter [into Glacier Bay]. The Tlingit people kept them in outside waters, because they compete for the same food we do. Well, not only do the otters eat so much, but they reproduce like rabbits. So it's just burdensome. Another thing I noticed is there's so many sea lions...in Glacier Bay on the islands we used to pick seagull eggs off of (WC).

Bob Loescher believes that changing environmental conditions within Glacier Bay, possibly caused by cruise line traffic, have created this scenario: "there's not many seals there anymore, because the sea lions have moved in, the Killer whales and everything else. So the environment, the resources in the Bay had changed" (BL).

¹⁶ James Jack, Sr. recalled the term *Kaa.ya.oo.ne* "respect each other" as a central organizing principle in Tlingit social relations. A separate term for respect, *Ya.aa.unei* has elsewhere been mentioned as a central organizing Tlingit concept (cf. Hunn et al 2003; Thornton 2008).

¹⁷ Bob Loescher echoes this sentiment, saying,

it's our culture, like even if we go to ANB [Alaska Native Brotherhood] meeting in Saxman, we go to a meeting in Sitka, when we come there, to that land and have a meeting, or come there for any purpose, Native people will stand up and say, 'We want to thank you for allowing us to hold our meeting in your land' (BL).

¹⁸ James Jack provides an example from a Tlingit oral narrative,

About 250 years ago in Tenakee Inlet, Tenakee Inlet belonged to the Deisheetaan, which lived in Angoon. And they came, and they...had invited Wooshkeetaan to their land for whatever purpose. But one of the leaders, a high ranking leader, his son was killed on that land, so...they had no way to pay. They didn't want to go eye-for-an-eye, you know. Have one Deisheetaan killed of the same level of leadership or honor or whatever. So they gave all that land to the Wooshkeetaan as payment for the wrongful death of the Wooshkeetaan leader's son or nephew, something to that effect, you know. So that explains the liability right there, you know. We're liable for anything that happens to any of our visitors, invited or not (JJ).

¹⁹ For example, Wanda Culp describes how the Tlingit assisted and ultimately saved John Muir:

Our people could not understand this man who came amongst them in, like, November – was ranting and raving, you can imagine, where noise is offensive, you know, and some non-Native voices are really too. So in order...[satisfy him] they said, 'Ok, come with us. We're going to go seal hunting, we'll drop you off at this place you can name after yourself' ...Then, he damn near died. He had one bullet and a friend's dog at one point. And he didn't know whether to shoot himself or the dog and eat the dog, because he was starving. And then our people decided to go check on him and saved [him] (WC)

²⁰ Veronica Dalton also expresses a concern for the safety of tourists who travel in bear country recklessly, saying,

I remember the first few years the ships were coming [to Icy Strait Point] and, you know, this is an island [Chichagof Island]. There are more bear on this island than people, and bears

roam where they want to, and I actually pleaded with a few of them [tourists] to stay down on the lower part, because up on Douglas [Street] here [in Hoonah], you get bears roaming through all the time, and they even come right around here at school here...I just don't really want anyone getting hurt (VD).

²¹ More specifically, Carol Williams sums up the Tlingit perspective on caring for visitors thusly:

You know, one of the first phrases I'll say [when I talk to people about Glacier Bay] is, 'We have a thousand expressions for our endearments for each other, but yet we have no word for goodbye...culturally that is designed, we take care of each other (CW).

²² For example, Mary Rudolph, preparing to oversee one of these events to which the authors were witness, was concerned about getting things exactly right: "[The elders] were always worried that we weren't listening. They were always worried that we would lost this. I wanted to do it right. I was awake all night [last night] going through the songs in my head so I would get it right" (MR).

²³ The first cruise ships in the region arrived circa 1890. The fledgling cruise ship industry was robust for about ten years, then disappeared following the 1899 earthquake. The cruise ship industry did not rebound and become a regular presence in the region until after World War II.

²⁴ Many seem to echo the observation of Jeff Skaflestad:

Huna fishermen fought the NPS and made baby steps [while] the cruise ship has their own lawyers and lobbyists...it's all about the money...it's big money and special interests that decide what's happening with the ships (JS).

²⁵ In 1906, the Alaska Native Allotment Act created a means by which Alaska Natives could acquire legal ownership of small land allotments within the newly recognized State of Alaska. Some of these allotments remain intact and have been passed down through generations. Adeline St. Clair shares ownership of an allotment around the Berg Bay area. She explains, "that land was registered [in the year] 18-something, when my father-in-law was young...had to re-register again, and he did that in 1912" (AS). Some of these allotment areas were ceded back to the federal government upon the nomination of Glacier Bay as a national monument and the passage of the Antiquities Act in 1925, which designated the Bay as a National Park.

Adeline St. Clair discusses the ownership dispute over her family's Berg Bay allotment with the NPS, and efforts by the family to continue using and accessing the site:

My father-in-law had a house on there [near Berg Bay River/ Chookaneidí River] and a smokehouse. But because we couldn't go in there, we couldn't take care of the cabin, so with all the harsh winters and everything, it collapsed. The only thing that saved us is where our water hole is. My father-in-law put big shells in there, and it's white in there, where his water supply is at. And they built a lean-to in the trees, so the bears and stuff won't get at it, and that's way up in the tree. That's what showed that was our land...and we went to court about it, Supreme Court. And the judge said it's our land. Gave us the...[title]...and even then, we had a hard time trying to get in (AS).

Ultimately, in 2000, the Supreme Court found that the land should remain with the family.

²⁶ Many people alluded to this sense that the NPS had agreed to allow for continued Tlingit occupation, only to reverse that position once the park was well-established. Ernie Hillman recalls,

When I was a little kid, you know, five, six, seven years old, I used to be able to sit and talk, listen to the old-timers talk. And of course they'd be talking Tlingit and that, but every now and then, they'd tell me about what happened way back when. And one little spot sticks in the back of my head...people from down south came up, and they met with the people in Hoonah, and they wanted to talk to them about Glacier Bay, and we have to come talk with you about it. And the way they explained it was they were going to go there and probably not change nothing other than it's going to be become a [National] Monument, and they were promised when that happens, 'This is still your land. This is still your place, where you can go and do whatever you're doing right now. You'll always be free to do that'...Three of them came to Hoonah, talked to our people, the elders, and they said they were going to sign this paper they made on the day before and all that. And then they said, 'Ok, nothing will change. You'll always be able to go back to your land, all the time.' That paper is someplace in Washington, D.C. (EH).

While Tlingit traditional concepts of title based on *at.óow* would suggest that the entire park was Tlingit lands, the absence of written documentation of that prior title is seen by some as the fundamental issue that allowed them to be displaced from the land, essentially transformed from hosts to guests in their own core homeland. As Frank Wright suggests,

The only downfall of my people made, I'm talking about all the Tlingits—the mistake that we made, we didn't try to have a written document, a written language right at the start. Over ten thousand years, we didn't do it. And we were here over ten thousand years. The totem pole or screens, you know...the way my uncle described it, 'Hold onto the screen...That's our bill of sale' (FW).

²⁷ Certain interviewees spoke of the role of the NPS in protecting the land and the resources within Glacier Bay, and they regard these regulations as one form of respect and a means of stewardship, even as they might affect Tlingit use of the landscape. Ken Grant, being Huna and an NPS employee, has particular insights into this matter:

the Park Service part of me, and probably...when you come right down to it, the Tlingit had respect for the land, the waterways, and for all the creatures too. And I think that the Park Service has these regulations in place to respect the land. And I think they're taking good care of the homeland. But we don't see it that way from our perspective. I say 'our' as a Tlingit...I see myself roaming the land of my grandparents. And with my dad, we fished. But I can't do it anymore, because federal policies and these things, you know. But all said and done, I step back and look at it, and I see, 'What do we have here?' I look at the Park Service, and I have this feeling in my heart that ten, twenty generations from now, they'll still have the protection. There won't be any high rises. There won't be any ports. There won't be any etc., etc. (KG).

James Jack expresses his gratitude for the Park Service, saying, "I want to thank the Park Service for taking care of our land. My estimation is that they've done a very good job" (JJ).

²⁸ Similarly, Floyd Peterson expresses resentment at the fact that Huna people often have to resort to "begging" for permission to conduct traditional activities due to regulations meant to minimize the adverse effects of outsiders:

There's quite a bit of communication between HIA, Hoonah Indian Association, and the Park Service, I guess. But they're begging all the time. The Huna Indians are begging, 'Can we go harvest seagull egg? Can we maybe shoot sea otter? Can we go get some goat hair or can we?' And then consequently, 'Oh well, we'll see what we can do.' And then twenty-five, thirty years later, maybe, they'll get a little bit (FP).

Others discuss how current regulations can sometimes result in legal troubles for Huna people. Tom Mills describes one instance of native seal hunting that almost resulted in a legal battle,

some of those people, like Jake White, Sr., he's a Native. He's Coho, elder, a leader, whatever you want to call him: Chief. He was fishing up there in his boat *Mermaid*, and he sent his nephew [Greg Brown] out to get a seal, and they got a seal, and the park service arrested [cited] him for it. Drug it all out, confiscated his rifle and everything. Then they dropped the case (TM).

Fear of legal ramifications has discouraged some Huna people from using the Bay for natural resource harvest purposes, though not all. Many Huna people attempt to navigate the complexities of continuing to harvest in their traditional areas despite new regulations. Veronica Dalton describes her impressions,

I've been trying hard to work on communications with people, because some people just get so angry...Some of these people don't know who they are, but they know where they come from. 'Why can't we go there when we want to? Why can't I shoot a deer? Why can't I shoot a seal there? My grandparents, my great-grandparents were able to do that. We should be able to do that.' I'm like 'Yeah, you know I agree with you, but we have to follow these rules and people, I believe people are working on baby steps' (VD).

Tom Mills describes the permit system for entering the Bay for fishing and other purposes, and expresses dissatisfaction with how the NPS has enforced these regulations in the past,

And they have our permit system now. Where you have to call up the National Park ahead of time, and they'll give you a number. So when you come in here, you have to stop off in Bartlett Cove and answer all kinds of questions, and then they let you go to where you're going, but in the meantime, you have all your patrols watching you...any time Native fishermen go up there to fish, you have your patrol boats right alongside of them, videotaping every little thing they're doing and looking for flaws to move them out (TM).

In recent years, the NPS has sought to minimize the effects of this system on Hoonah residents, dropping the requirement for an orientation at Bartlett Cove.

²⁹ Discharges of fuel or oil by ships were also mentioned as a concern, but little detailed information was obtained on this point.

³⁰ Wanda Culp indicates that she has witnessed wastewater discharges while working as a cultural interpreter on a Goldbelt-owned catamaran,

In 2000, I spent the summer as cultural interpreter on the Goldbelt catamaran. And one of the things I saw, which really pissed me off, was even though it was treated, they discharged their sew[age] in Glacier Bay, the catamaran. Who else and what else is doing that? (WC).

Alice Haldane mentions her fear of an oil spill, and recalls seeing what she believes to have been an inadvertent discharge while aboard a cruise ship in Glacier Bay,

And we were both standing there watching, all the sudden in see something coming out from the Holland America lines. We looked down there. I said, 'Oh my gosh! What is that? I hope they're not releasing the waste, you know.' And so he got real concerned, and he went down there and went up to the captain and talked about it, and he came back down by me. He said that it was the propellers was churning up the water from underneath. But I don't know, because I've been on a couple of ships that didn't do that, you know. So, I'm not too sure that they accidentally discharged something...You know, I'm sure there's going to be some kind of mistake...made, you know, accidentally spilling. Because our people live off the water, you know. I mean, our food comes from the water. Like now, you know, with that oil spill [Deepwater Horizon] way out there by Mexico (AH).

³¹ Some interviewees suggested scenarios to illustrate this point — for example, noting that if only 10% of cruise ship passengers are smokers and only 5% of those individuals think it is acceptable to throw cigarette butts overboard during their visit, that still adds up to an astonishing number in total. (Assuming roughly 430,000 park visitors based on recent trends, incidentally, this hypothetical example would present the park with over 2,000 individuals who tossed cigarettes overboard in a given year.)

³² Interestingly, interviewees mentioned that Huna people had traditional mechanisms for dealing with large waves in open water. Richard Dalton, for example, recalls,

They would build canoes. They would fill their front end with big rocks...every time they shot a sea otter they'd throw a rock out. They'd get another sea otter and they'd throw out another rock. That helped them to balance the canoe, 'cause it's real tippy, real unstable in those waves (RD).

³³ Frank Wright, a fisherman, describes the extra caution he must exercise to maneuver around an increasing number of pods while fishing in the Bay,

Because right now there's so many whales, even when I'm on whale-watch, I have to watch which way the whales are going. Some come right in front of me, and I slow the boat down and hope I miss them. I haven't hit one yet, thank God you know (FR).

³⁴ This type of disrespectful behavior is not confined to tourists on cruise ships, and it is not limited to the tourists. Owen James tells about an instance when cruise ship employees, themselves, were disrespectful by exhibiting inattentiveness during tours on the bear trail,

Working out there on the bear trails, we have some of the workers that are working the ship itself come off, and the young men, young ladies. The ladies were fine, but the young men were just being very ignorant, not letting the folks that want to hear about what's our culture or what they're talking about, the plants, the wildlife, and everything else that you could think of. They were just making a lot of racket. And a lot of times when that happens the guide will call me and say, 'We have some folks here that are being very disrespectful.' So my job was to go pull them aside (OJ).

Another form of disrespectful visitor behavior that interviewees mention is wastefulness. As discussed previously, traditional Huna hunting practices proscribe wastefulness, and killing an animal without intent to

use it is considered disrespectful behavior. James Jack describes a situation, where wasteful behavior on the part of visitors is wrongly attributed to the Huna

I've seen it in Hoonah on the logging roads, where people come in from out of town, and they shoot deer, and they take the hindquarters and leave the rest in the gutter on the side of the road. And we get blamed for that. In our culture, we would never waste it. We used the skin for drums. We used the hooves for rattles, you know. And it just floors me that Fish and Game people will say, 'Well, Hoonah people are wasteful, because they leave the carcasses on the side of the road.' No. No, not us (JJ).

³⁵ Perhaps an unforeseen source of displacement for many interviewees was the entry into the military during the war with Vietnam. Many Tlingit fishermen (in this group of interviewees: George Lindoff, Tom Mills, Frank O. Williams) recount entering the military, and upon their return to Hoonah, having to adjust to, and ultimately change livelihoods because of the new closures and restrictions on their fishing territory and practices, both for subsistence and commercial fishing. According to George Lindoff, "the Hoonah fleet, we used to have thirty-some boats here. One year we had forty-two. I went—come of age to go in the military, they had thirty-nine. I come back from Vietnam, there were only five boats left" (GL).

Military deployment of young Tlingit men may have adversely affected the current status of viable fishing permits. The absence of these fishermen during the restructuring of the permitting system made it impossible for them to return home and recommence commercial fishing. Tom Mills gave these estimates,

And it's kind of hard, because a lot of the people over here, a lot of us Natives at one given time, there was twenty-nine of us from this community that went over, that were over in Vietnam. All total, there was fifty-nine of us, and just two fatalities (TM).

³⁶ Ironically, some interviewees identify the Western-style education system and the desire to obtain a college degree as a means of displacement. Frank Williams made this comment, regarding the movement of Tlingit out of the villages to acquire a college education: "It educated us out of the village. And they could get all the degrees they wanted, but go to Hoonah, you still got to stand in line to get something to eat. All that education doesn't do me any good in Hoonah" (FO).

³⁷ Incidentally, some interviewees have concerns regarding the illustration of a Tlingit scene in the NPS brochure, the Compact Atlas of Glacier Bay. As Ernie Hillman notes,

I'm looking at this picture here, you know, and I can't figure out...they're trying to depict this southern type Indian fishing around the river there. They're gathering some stuff. The kids are playing in a river there. They got fish up there...the old-timer looks like he's coming ashore to claim that land there or something. He's wearing a hat there, you know, and ceremonial robe over his shoulder. How dumb are the people that made this think our people were? ...I'm glad our elders aren't here to see something like that. It's bad (EH).

³⁸ Despite these issues, there are those who recognize the efforts that NPS has made to integrate the Huna people in the representation of Glacier Bay as both an amazing landscape and an ancestral homeland. Floyd Peterson remarks, "they're changing their attitude down there a little bit...So they're opening up to the Huna. They're recognizing that Hoonah exists" (FP).

³⁹ Director of Special Projects relating to Icy Strait Point, Johan Dybdahl says, this venue may eventually allow the Huna to tell parts of their story more thoroughly:

If you fly out to me to Icy Strait Point, and I want to give you my short historical tour, I'll start down at the Cannery Point, and by the time I walk you up to where the tender dock is which is three, four hundred feet or whatever—maybe five hundred or so, the short version I can do in 40-45 minutes. If I give you a walk around just on that little 19 acre site, if I give you a full walk around tour, I'm going to be talking nonstop for two hours and not be able to hit everything that happened there (JD).

⁴⁰ Tom Abel expands on this point:

The biggest problem I saw...is that there's really not a great opportunity, for instance Ernestine, to open a shop down at Icy Strait plane, because she can't afford to. She can't make a living with a shop 35 days a year, but if I own a shop in Juneau, I can afford to open a satellite shop in Hoonah, because everything in Hoonah becomes extra income on top of my already secured profit. And that is basically eliminating people from Hoonah from getting down there (TA).

⁴¹ Ken Grant expresses his view on this matter, saying,

They...obey the Whale Water thing too, you know. And I would hope they do see it from the parks service eyes as protecting the whales. It's hard to swallow. You gotta be a mile off and all that, because whales are all over the place, but you and I know that statistics tell us that most of the activities are within a mile, you know (KG).

⁴² Some interviewees even report attempting to interact with the tourists taking pictures of them from the ship decks. Jean Lampe comments, "One time I was having fun, I started waving at them, and they start waving back...I didn't see anything bad about them" (JL).

⁴³ These trips are much valued by Huna elders as well. Dennis Gray describes the emotional impact he experienced during an opportunity he had to reenter the Bay,

I went on a tour with my son Howard...end of last season, he invited me along. [Every] time I ever came up that bay [I] was working, I mean fishing. I was working on the deck of my uncle's boat, you know, so I never really got to enjoy all the scenery that much, because I was busy working. But I went on a tour, and it was so amazing...from the time we entered, I was up and...I was naming off all the bays, all the islands and everything...recognizing all the spots from fishing and telling them stories, different stories about different places while we were up there...it was pretty emotional for me just to go up there and be able to see all that and kind of relive my growing up years with my uncles up there...it had a big impact on me, and it just meant so much...I really appreciate the efforts on the park service's side, because we are finally starting to develop a good relationship with the park service. They're trying to do what they can to work with us and it's been ongoing, you know (DG).

These trips are of particular significance to the Huna elders. As Marlene Johnson explains, "Oh, I tell you, some of the elders, the first few times they were out there getting the berry picking, what a feeling they had. It was wonderful" (MJ). While these berry picking trips are very popular, they are limited by a lottery system. Veronica Dalton expresses hope that she gets chosen for the trip again, commenting, "I hope that I get selected again to go [nagoon berry picking]. It was kind of a lottery. There's so many people that want to go" (VD). She added that she wishes that "it was made more available for more people to do it" but postulates that the cost of these trips is the main limiting factor.

⁴⁴ The students also report that these are powerful moments in their education. Christine Contreras describes her experience as a student, for example,

I really like [being able learn about Glacier Bay while in Glacier Bay]...because...there are some kids that need hands-on learning. And they don't like to just sit in a classroom all the time and listen to somebody. Because I have a hard time listening to somebody in the front of a classroom, but being out on the boat, I found that I paid attention more (CC).

⁴⁵ Christine Contreras was fortunate enough to take part in a youth backcountry expedition as a student and reaffirms the effectiveness of these land-based trips as a teaching opportunity. She describes her experience and explains how she benefited from these land-based trips:

We went to, it was actually the Wooshkeetaan land up in Excursion [Inlet]...and we went to the old gravesites that they had up there. And we actually saw Catherine Mills and her husbands' graves...and I've always known them to be like, as real important people, and it was really cool to see the land that they had lived in much before. And we went to where they used to gather like, gumboots and cockles...

Yeah, like they have the clan workshop at the schools, so that the kids could go to it. But it's more of a sit down and listen situation...I know when I was their age and we would go to the clan workshop, I didn't like to sit and listen...I liked the going out into Glacier Bay more. It's not just sit and listen. I don't like that (CC).

⁴⁶ In addition to increasing opportunities for youth in Glacier Bay, Marjorie Dick recalls attending a youth camp, which taught her traditional subsistence practices, and the impact that it had on her as a youth:

Well, you know when I was younger, we used to have a Spirit Camp that we used to go to out the road. And I remember...that would be a hands-on thing, too, about digging, how we used to dig...and cook fish in the beaches and the hot rocks on top and stuff, and skunk cabbages. And what we used for moss and stuff like that. That would be cool (MD).

Dick would like to see these types of opportunities rekindled and suggested that taxes from the tourist industry should be applied toward educating the youth.

⁴⁷ A storyteller may edit or abbreviate a narrative when speaking to an unknown audience. Gordan Greenwald explains how a Tlingit elder, Lily White, abbreviated the Kaastine story in this way,

at the glacier she [Lily White] told a little version of it [the Kaastine story], but again, I knew she was abbreviating it, and I didn't talk with them afterward. But she abbreviated it for the very same reason. She didn't know the audience, I mean, she knew Alice and this type of thing, but she didn't know the kids that she was talking to and what their understanding would be (GG).

⁴⁸ Icy Strait Point creates a unique venue for this kind of connection. Johan Dybdahl describes how this venue facilitates deeper engagement with the landscape and the culture of the Huna than the on-board presentations might:

We have a two and a half mile tram that goes out [into the forest] and comes back, and after the guides out there have talked about, you know, all of the uses of the Devil's Club and, you know, seaweed and all of this kind of stuff on the way, they have a better feeling when they see the show afterward. So, again, we're making more connections. This year, my niece, Sonya Gray, was in charge of all the guides, and she put the program together, and all of our guides now introduce themselves, whether they're Tlingit or not, they introduce themselves in Tlingit (JD).

The ceremonial exchange of gifts between Tlingit hosts and their guests was identified as a useful tool in the creation of these connections. Johan Dybdahl explains how he discovered that an exchange of gifts adds meaning to interpretation:

My nephew, Howard, wrote this little saying on a piece of paper about adding your spirit to the spirit at Icy Strait Point, and we started giving every one of guests a little wood chip, cedar...everyone that came up the ramp. And we asked them to take it down to the wood chip fire, which was burning all the time, the ship's one, and we had somebody down there answering questions, telling them, but unbeknownst to us, the ladies just kept on telling them, 'Just take it down there. Make a wish.' My God, this thing started to grow. And we had a little fish tally machine down there, finally we stopped having him count at all, because we had fifteen hundred people came down to put their wood chip in the wood chip fire. And then the ones that were forgetting before they got back on the ship, they start mailing them to us and asking us to put them in the wood chip fire. But you know, it gave them that one more unique thing that something, if they chose to put it in there or take it away.

He continues,

we found 253 of these Hoonah Packing Company coins or tokens in a safe over there, and we called the San Francisco Mint, and low and behold they still had our dyes...So what we did is we took the coin and...we saved the side that said, 'Hoonah Packing Company,' and the other side that said, 'One dollar in trade,' we redesigned that, and we put our Tlingit saying...and in English, 'Pulling together.' And then we put the symbol of the paddle. And then we tell them the story about when our people would visit one another, the last thing they would get is, before they departed, was the gift of the paddle. And they were supposed to use that paddle to come back and visit again. So all the sudden there, we've created that, we've tied the historical and we've tied our local Tlingit culture all in one coin, and it has value because of the story that we told (JD).

Marjorie Dick describes how even simple gifts and the act of exchange becomes powerful:

We [Marjorie and a friend] were in our regalia and...we were on the tram ride, and just something as simple as drawing a Native design on a rock. They totally dig that...You know, they took it home, I'm pretty sure it got rubbed off by the time they got to their home [laughs], but you know, they... It's something that they feel that's more [meaningful]...They're coming up here to learn. And I think hands-on and being able to feel and go what we go through, went through, would be great (MD).

⁴⁹ Some recommend turning the presentation into a "show" that captures the attention of the largest possible audience. Tom Abel would like to see tourist interpretive programs in Glacier Bay reach a similar level of showmanship that he experienced in Hawaii. His main concern is creating a lasting impact on visitors:

Well, what they could do is like what they do in Hawaii, they could make it more like a show. They could bring out somebody that actually has the right to a hereditary title, like [a] Wooshkeetaan clan leader, or the Chookaneidí clan leader...well, what I see needs to be done is it needs to hit them like a big thunder clap. That's what the show needs to be, 'wham!' And they need to leave saying, 'Wow! I didn't know that.' It's an appreciation (TA).

⁵⁰ It is important to note that in creating interpretive programs, there must be awareness of the intricate ownership of stories and information by clans, tribes, moieties and individuals. Al Martin tries to explain the importance of validating the source of information used in these presentations,

What the park or the university should do is do some research with who were the first clan in Glacier Bay other than the Chookaneidí. You see, the Chookaneidí were the Tlingit slaves at one time. I don't want to use that term, but all the sudden the slaves became stronger than the master. So, right now they say that all the Chookaneidís are involved with Sealaska and Tlingit and Haida, and they're heads of all the Tlingit. I have nothing against that. If they're educated enough to do so, let them go for it, but when they start taking history and rewriting history is what I'm opposed to. So, the university or the park service should research...what is the correct story and what is the legend. There are two legends, you know. But let them interpret the blankets and artifacts to verify the legends just like places and names and place. We'll come and verify. The truth will come out that way (AM).

Al Martin hints at the tense undercurrent surrounding the ownership of Glacier Bay. James Jack makes a similar reference, saying,

Well, you didn't hear this from me, but Chookaneidís think they own all of Glacier Bay. But you know, we have evidence that we were up there too, so. But you know some clans feel that it should be just a generic presentation, because we may give some wrong information out, which would then in turn insult a certain clan, you know. Say, we say wrong things that would insult that clan, and then we'd be liable for that insult (JJ).

Therefore, in designing and implementing interpretive programs, careful deliberation and consultation between different Tlingit clans, tribes and elders is a crucial element in presenting a comprehensive and accurate Tlingit narrative. Interpreters may also choose to develop a "generic" Tlingit history, as described by James Jack:

And for the last two years of my employment with Huna Totem Corporation, I was manager of the interpretive services program in Glacier Bay. I had three employees. We did Hoonah history, the generic history because clans, different clans have ownership of different areas in Glacier Bay (JJ).

⁵¹ Beyond cruise ships, Tom Abel discusses the potential that the Huna Tlingit have to disseminate information about their culture:

Because they're talking about the changing face and the changing shape of sovereignty, because as you know, when you turn on your computer, you do not need a passport to go anywhere...You can be anywhere. And so that's changing everything. Those little lines on the globe are going to pretty much disappear...The Tlingit people from Glacier Bay need to somehow find a way to be strengthened by the process and provide a real knowledge to the people that see them dance so they go away saying, 'Wow. That was really something' (TA).

⁵² If this is undertaken, it must be done advisedly. Many Huna express concern that the NPS prioritizes Western science in the park to the detriment of Tlingit interests. Bob Loescher, for example, criticizes the Park as a government-run science experiment, saying, “the Native people are left out of that harvesting of sea otters in Glacier Bay, because they want to make it a science laboratory, all of Glacier Bay. That’s their purpose for the park” (BL).

⁵³ Huna interviewees often discussed their difficult relationship with the park service, especially in decades past. Marlene Johnson describes the tumultuous nature of Huna-NPS relations in the 1970s:

During that period of time, that was in the ‘70s even, the relationship was really bad. You know, it got so that it was ‘us against them,’ kind of thing...on both sides. And so, it took a long time to even get it pass, so that we could talk to the park service. I mean, people in Hoonah did not trust the park service at all (MJ).

This lack of trust continues to complicate Huna-NPS relations today. For example, as Johan Dybdahl remarks,

even though this grand place would not have gotten this protection, our people are sometimes skeptical of government, of course, and government agencies, because they’re told one thing, and then as time goes on, something else happens. And so, there’s still not a lot of like, ‘Oh gee, we’re sure glad the National Park Service is taking care of Glacier Bay for us,’ or anything like that, you know (JD).

⁵⁴ Wanda Culp describes how once she became a member of Hoonah Indian Association she began participating in the legal battle to recover access to Glacier Bay. She began going door to door to distribute the constitution and educate the community. She describes her first visit was with George and Jessie Dalton, Tlingit elders in the community:

It is kind of intimidating, because they were so elderly and spoke Tlingit. And there we were, but we made this step, and it was real ceremonial how they spoke with us. We sat in a circle like this, and we held hands. They said a prayer for us being young people, and they said, ‘Understand this. The battle for Glacier Bay is not yours. It belongs to all of us. What you folks are doing is picking it up for us’...it was an eye opener, because I didn’t understand, then, all the implications of how we were getting forced out (WC).

Many elders in the Huna community have, at least in the past, viewed themselves as in a “battle” for Glacier Bay. The elders, in particular, feel that the fight for Glacier Bay is their personal cause and that their livelihood and the livelihood of the Huna people, in general, depends on their rights to access and relate to the Bay as their ancestral homeland.

⁵⁵ Daphne Wright echoes this sentiment, saying,

because sometimes it’s taught, ‘Here’s the science part,’ and then in a whole separate thing they’ll say, ‘and this is called such-and-such.’ This area’s called that. Yeah, so sometimes it’s two separate things instead of putting it together, teaching it together, yeah (DW).

⁵⁶ The following locations were identified as important salmon fishing grounds: Berg Bay, Lituya Bay, Berg Bay, Hoktaheen, Dicks Arm, Beaver Creek inside Lisianski, Fingers Bay, Inian Islands, Idaho Inlet, Gull Cove, Hawk Inlet, Dundas Bay River, Russell Island, Queen Inlet, Tarr Inlet, Geikie Inlet, Tidal Inlet, Hugh Miller Inlet, Excursion Inlet, Chookaheeni (Berg Bay), Beartrack Cove, Bartlett Cove, near the old PAF Cannery, and proximate to Beardslee and Strawberry Islands.

⁵⁷ For example, Jean Lampe's parents worked at canneries in Excursion Inlet during the summer months:

My mother grew up in Hoonah. I didn't. I grew up in Juneau. I think my parents got married in 1955, and they worked in the Excursion Inlet canneries, and so I think during the winter months, they'd go back to Juneau and get jobs (JL).

⁵⁸ Likewise, people described herring roe gathering in many places outside of the park. For example, Harold McKinley describes collecting herring roe from the pilings at Elfin Cove,

Well, about three or four days after Sitka spawn, they spawn by Elfin Cove. And after they're done spawning, they'll leave Elfin Cove, go onto the float. They got pilings...and all that herring spawn sets on that...Scrape them all off (HM).

⁵⁹ Some interviewees mentioned traditional sea otter hunting, but largely alluded to places outside of Glacier Bay Proper. For example, Adam Greenwald describes arriving at "The Fairweather Grounds" traveling from Lituya Bay:

And then they went sea otter hunting. She said they'd take them ten hours to twelve hours straight out toward the sunset [from Lituya Bay] and then when they got to [a place with a particular view of] Mount Fairweather, she said when the... water came up to the bottom of that 'V,' she said they were on sea otter grounds. Well, now it's what we call 'the Fairweather grounds,' you know. It just is a short of a shallow out there that there was lots of feed and so sea otters migrating, fed over it you know (AG).

⁶⁰ These programs were not without controversy. Some Huna question the morality of resource-management strategies, which contradict traditional ecological knowledge and protocol, where wanton waste was considered offensive. As Frank O. Williams notes,

they put a bounty on seal. Shoot a few and take a little patch off the nose, put it in a big crab pot, give you three bucks. In fact, they increased it to six. And you get some of these real good sharpshooters...[who can shoot] six hundred a day. You don't even need a big boat, because the patches were small...I said, 'That's what's killing them...and our people are mad, too, because it's a waste, a waste of our resources.' When we shoot a seal, we take everything eatable: the intestines, the flippers (FO).

George Lindoff also identified the legalized seal hunting in the late 1960s as being a rare example of Tlingit hunters having a negative impact on the landscape:

I think the only time we had an impact was when everyone went seal hunting...I got the bounty when I first went up there, my grandfather and my uncle. They gave me a bounty on a nose, and they got the most for the skins, but I still got over four hundred bucks just on the bounty (GL).

⁶¹ In addition to collecting animal byproducts, interviewees mentioned that certain minerals, including gold, were traditionally mined in what is today the park. However most of this occurred outside of Glacier Bay Proper. For example, some interviewees mentioned mining for Gold in Dundas Bay:

My brother and I inherited...160 acres in Dundas Bay area...when the law was implemented it was a traditional Tlingit mine area. They used to dig gold nuggets in that area. And that's for riches. They used to carve artifacts and also use in the (muscle?) loading long guns they call it in Hoonah, you know. They were the Hudson Bay long rifles. They would carve it with a knife and it would carve really easy and you'd still have the impact power. That's what they use gold nuggets for (AM).

⁶² Interviewees noted places outside of Glacier Bay that were also visited for these purposes. Frank White describes how he would travel to the Inian Islands, to a place called "Flattop" or "Table Rock," to collect eggs that would be shared with the Huna community, "we went up on top of the Flattop, we called it 'Flattop.' At Inian Islands...We got a lot of seagull eggs there. When we were done with it, we took off for Hoonah, gave it away" (FW).

⁶³ Jean Lampe notes that people sometimes had to keep on watch for bears while picking strawberries:

every time I smell strawberries, I think of that one day where she said, 'Everybody spread out. And so-and-so's got the rifle in case the bears come.' And you know, 'Somebody's got to keep watch.' And bears did come around. I remember that, but we didn't shoot any (JL).